

AMERICAN CINEMA AND POPULAR REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN IN  
EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

A Master's Thesis

by  
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İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY  
ANKARA

September 2013



To The Memory of My Father Sait Karabağ and To My Family

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EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences  
of  
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by  
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In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY  
ANKARA

September 2013

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## **ABSTRACT**

# **AMERICAN CINEMA AND POPULAR REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY**

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This thesis focuses on the relationship between American cinema and Turkish woman in the 1930s. Along with political reforms, there were cultural transformations in the society in the 1930s in Turkey. One of the dimension of it was movies. It was the American movies which dominated the Turkish screens in the 1930s. I aim to show that American movies and the Turkish movie fan magazines *Holivut*, *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, *Yıldız* contributed in depicting a new type of woman which represented a role model for Turkish women; through this American cinema discourse, American cinema stars were promoted as a role model for women in terms of beauty, sports, personality traits, gender relations and consumerism. Current historiography focuses

on the Americanization of Turkish popular culture and underlining cultural influence of America in the 1940s, especially after Marshall Plan. Examining influence of American movies, American cinema stars, the movie fan magazines *Holivut*, *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, *Yıldız*, the Turkish press' construction of women in the 1930s, I argue that Turkish popular culture was already becoming Americanized before the Marshall plan. This thesis also explores the discourse of Turkish movie fan magazines construction of women and compare it with "the ideal woman image" presented by Kemalist ideology.

**Keywords:** American films, Hollywood, the 1930s, Holivut, The Movie Fan Magazines, Woman, Body Culture, Beauty, Sports, Motherhood

## ÖZET

# ERKEN DÖNEM TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ'NDE AMERİKAN SİNEMASI VE KADINLARIN POPÜLER TEMSİLLERİ

Karabağ, Müzeyyen

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Eylül 2013

Bu tez 1930'lardaki Amerikan sineması ve Türk kadını arasındaki ilişkiye odaklanmaktadır. 1930'larda Türkiye'de politik reformlarla beraber toplumda kültürel değişimler mevcuttu. Bunun bir boyutu ise filmlerdi. 1930'larda Türkiye'deki sinemalara egemen olan ise Amerikan filmleriydi. Amerikan filmlerinin ve Türk sinema dergilerinden *Holivut*, *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, *Yıldız*'ın Türk kadınına rol model teşkil eden yeni bir kadın türü önermede katkısı olduğunu göstermeyi amaçlıyorum; bu sinema söylemi üzerinden Amerikalı sinema yıldızları güzellik, spor, karakter özellikleri, cinsiyet ilişkileri ve tüketim açısından kadınlara bir rol model olmaya özendirilmiştir. Türk popüler kültürünün Amerikanlaştırılması ve Amerikanın



kültürel etkisini vurgulamada, mevcut tarihyazımı 1940'lara, özellikle Marshall Plan'ı sonrasına odaklanmaktadır. 1930'lu yıllardaki Amerikan filmlerini, sinema yıldızlarını, *Holivut*, *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, *Yıldız* sinema dergilerini, Türk basının kurguladığı kadın üzerinden etkileri inceleyerek, Türk popüler kültürünün Marshall Plan'ından önce Amerikanlaştığını savunuyorum. Bu tez ayrıca sinema dergilerinin kurguladığı kadın söylemini keşfetmekte ve bunu Kemalist ideolojisinde sunulan ideal kadın imgesiyle de karşılaştırmaktadır.

**Keywords:** Amerikan filmleri, Hollywood, 1930'lar, Holivut, Sinema Dergileri, Kadın, Beden Kültürü, Güzellik, Spor, Annelik

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express my gratitude and thank my supervisor Edward P. Kohn. His exceptional insight, tireless guidance, invaluable help, motivation, and encouraging comments were the driving force on this project, which made me feel lucky during the entire process. His lessons were also very effective in shaping my understanding of history, which indirectly contributed to my thesis. I owe huge thanks to Kenneth Weisbrode. He has been very supportive and offered constructive feedback on the project; without his remarkable comments and suggestions, this thesis would be lacking. I would like to thank Dennis Bryson whose support and advice mean a lot to me. I am indebted to him, not only for his invaluable help but also for his encouragement. His patient editorial guidance, careful review and advice throughout the project improved my thesis. I would like to thank Özer Ergenç without whom this study would be incomplete. I learned a lot from him during our weekly talks; his concern and advice on my study kept my motivation high, stimulating my curiosity about alternate ways of proceeding. I would like to thank Oktay Özel; he was always helpful. I would like to thank my close friend Funda Canlı not only for her moral support but also bothering to read my thesis and help me edit the language. I would like to thank my mother Oya Karabağ, my sister Nuran Karabağ Özgün, my brother

Murat Karabağ. Their enormous support, love and faith in me made everything easier and have brought me to where I am today.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ÖZET.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>CHAPTER I:INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER II: BACKGROUND.....</b>	<b>13</b>
2.1.Women In Ottoman Times.....	13
2.2. Women In Republican Period.....	18
<b>CHAPTER III:"HOLLYWOODIZATION"AND WOMAN.....</b>	<b>29</b>
3.1. Conflict.....	44
3.2. Advertisements.....	50
3.3.To Be An Actress.....	53
<b>CHAPTER IV:CONSTRUCTION OF WOMEN IN THE MOVIE FAN MAGAZINES.....</b>	<b>57</b>
4.1.Standards Of Beauty.....	57
4.2. The Movie Fan Magazines.....	61
4.3. To Be Beautiful.....	69
4.4. Sports.....	74
<b>CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>82</b>

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>88</b>
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

*"Cinema is the ultimate pervert art. It doesn't give you what you desire it tells you how to desire."*<sup>1</sup>Zizek

The republic of Turkey was established in 1923, and within ten years, new reforms gave legal rights to Turkish women. In the 1930s, Turkey was in a great transformation, living the new spirit of democracy, and women benefited from it the most, as laws protecting women rights continued to be enacted. Women's transition to the public sphere was clear in the new Republic. Yet, in a period when modernization and westernization was the main goal, how these reforms were to be put into effect in a multi-dimensional society which had been characterized by the Ottoman rule for over 500 years, was another question. Kemalist reforms, in its ideology, constructed idealized women as republican, educated, working mothers. However, there was an

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<sup>1</sup> Sophie Fiennes, Slavoj Zizek, Brian Eno and Tony Myers. The pervert's guide to the cinema.[London]: P Guide, 2006.

alternative construction of women through movies, the movie fan magazines, cinema section of newspapers, and my thesis will trace this relationship between Turkish women and American cinema in the 1930s. I am going to attempt to indicate that American cinema and the Turkish press contributed in offering to portray a new type of woman, a role model in the new Turkish Republic, making a fertile ground for American movies and Turkish movie fan magazines to alter the way Turkish women were constructed. American movies dominated the Turkish screens. In addition to political changes, Turks saw a new kind of representation through this cultural channel, and young Turkish women copied these role models while American cultural norms penetrated into cultural codes of Turkey. Along with Westernization, the term "Hollywoodization" came up in the 1930s. The popular culture was Americanized through the movie fan magazine *Holivut* which stated in its 1936 issue that it followed *Photoplay* and *Picture Show* and adapted the American version.<sup>2</sup> American way of life was circulated through the lives of stars and those stars functioned as role models for young women who did not have role models. Feliha Sedat in her book *Genç Kızlara Adab-ı Muaşeret usulleri* (1932) pitied young Turkish girls because they had to learn concepts of modern life by themselves, unlike French girls who learnt how to act in a saloon, how to dress for walk from their mothers, sisters.<sup>3</sup> However the role of movies, press, movie magazines contributed to reflecting the new representation of modern life. Anything new was also associated with America in this cinema discourse. This interaction also brought its contents and discontents within a multi-dimensional society. Sometimes "new life style" was blamed and movies were also targeted for

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<sup>2</sup> Cihat Kentmen, "Niçin Bu Şekli Aldık?" *Holivut*, March 20, 1936, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Tülin Ural, "1930'larda Âdâb-ı Muâşeret Kitaplarında Kadın İmgesi," *Toplumsal Tarih* 231 (2013): 90.

changing behaviors of the young. Examining these influence of American movies and American stars, the movie fan magazines *Holivut*, *Yıldız*, the Turkish press' construction of women, I aim to show that the Americanization of the Turkish popular culture started out in the 1930s, not during the Cold War.

Current historiography generally focuses on the Americanization of Turkish popular culture after Marshall Plan (1948). Nezih Erdoğan and Dilek Kaya, in their article, "Institutional Intervention in the Distribution and Exhibition of Hollywood Films in Turkey," mentioned the U.S. battleship Missouri which brought the body of Turkish ambassador, Münir Ertegün, in 1946. This act also signified the close relationship which started between the United States and Turkey. Kaya and Erdoğan suggested that the result of this alliance was not only economic aid, but also the Americanization, starting to be on the agenda after 1945. They argued that during the Cold War period, American movies were screened in great number and notably popular with audiences. It was during this period, American movies and Turkish popular magazines promoted "American dream," and "American way of life." Hollywood, lives of stars, their beauty tips, gossip, were diffused through movie magazines. Kaya and Erdoğan stated that "America was constructed as object of desire and American way of life as the narrative of a social fantasy which has lasted to the present."<sup>4</sup> In a few words, referring to U.S. cultural influence, Aylin Güney in her article, "Anti-Americanism in Turkey: Past and Present" mentioned that it was in the

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<sup>4</sup> Nezih Erdoğan and Dilek Kaya, "Institutional Intervention in the Distribution and Exhibition of Hollywood Films in Turkey," *Historical Journal of Film and Television* 22:1 (2002): 47-59.



Cold War period that American popular culture was widely diffused in Turkey, and 'creating a little America,' was the desire of the prime minister, Adnan Menderes.<sup>5</sup>

Ahmet Oktay, in his book, *Türkiyede Popüler Kültür* pointed out that American way of life was dominant after Marshall Plan and its reflections could be seen in popular culture; in the magazines. Magazines published after 1950 challenged the family concept, there were more articles about women's sexuality and their love relations.<sup>6</sup>

Ulaş Altun stated that Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine created important changes in Turkey "economically, politically, militarily and culturally." Altun mentioned that Marshall Aid had cultural effects on Turkey which had more values than economic and political outcomes. People were gradually being associated with "American type" in their personality. It signified a more individualist, and consumerist, decadent character.<sup>7</sup>

Ayla Acar suggested that with the Truman Doctrine, it was the Turkish press "which became especially effective in creating a strong influence of American culture/lifestyle on the society and accordingly an overall admiration America." Acar also added that Turkish generation watched Hollywood stars "admiringly" with the period starting with Marshall Plan. Acar, referring to Ahmet Oktay, mentioned the magazines *Aile*, *Hafta*, *Resimli Hayat*, and commented that these magazines were "the

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<sup>5</sup> Aylin Güney, "Anti-Americanism in Turkey: Past and Present," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, No.3. (May 2008), 472. Aylin Güney quoted from Celal Bayar, the third president of the Turkish Republic.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmet Oktay, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür* (İstanbul: Cogito, 1994), 66, 85-87.

<sup>7</sup> Ulaş Altun, "Marshall Yardımı ve Türkiye" (MA thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2007), 124-125.

first examples of American style." She gave *Hayat* as an example copying the magazine, *American Life*.<sup>8</sup>

Levent Cantek in his book *Cumhuriyet'in Buluğ Çağı* gave many examples how American cinema created tension in the Turkish society during the 1940s.

Esra Pakin mentioned that during the years 1950-60, America came to be taken as a "role model" by Turkey, and she stressed that during this time, American music jazz, movies and goods were accepted by Turkish society with different responses.<sup>9</sup> However it was during the 1930s that "American way of life" was already diffused through movies and its agencies as American movies dominated the Turkish screens. Not more than eighteen Turkish films were made during 1930s.

What Turkish audience watched during this period was foreign productions, mostly American ones. Arslan commented on the list given by Scognamillo that "more than 60 percent of the films shown in Beyoğlu, theatres during the 1935-1936 season were Hollywood films."<sup>10</sup> Nilgün Abisel mentioned that only one Turkish film and 322 foreign films, mostly American productions, were shown in İstanbul in 1935.<sup>11</sup> Nijat Özön suggested that following the years of the Second World War, American films shown in Turkey increased to a great number.<sup>12</sup> During the Second World War, thanks to availability in road transportation, education and technology, movie houses and number of seats increased in Turkey, cinema even reached to the villages.<sup>13</sup> It was

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<sup>8</sup> Ayla Acar, "The Role of the Press in the Penetration of the American Culture to Turkey During Cold War Period" (Phd thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi) ii, 164.

<sup>9</sup> Esra Pakin, "American Studies In Turkey During the 'Cultural' Cold War," *Turkish Studies*, vol.9.3 (2008): 512.

<sup>10</sup> Savaş Arslan, *Cinema in Turkey : A New Critical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 42.

<sup>11</sup> Nilgün Abisel, *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar* (Ankara: İmge Kitapevi, 1994), 18.

<sup>12</sup> Nijat Özön, *Türk Sineması Tarihi: 1896-1960* (İstanbul:Doruk, 2010), 155.

<sup>13</sup> Özön, *Türk Sineması Tarihi: 1896-1960*, 250.

not surprising that cinema houses were mostly located in bigger cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, and Izmir in the 1930s. Arslan suggested that the number of movie theatres was 130 in 1939, and a decade later, it would reach to 200.<sup>14</sup> Turkey's population was 16.158.018 in 1935.<sup>15</sup> Although large numbers of movie houses were limited and located mostly in urban cities, cinema was a popular entertainment form in the 1930s of Turkey.

Robert L. Daniel suggested that "xenophobic nationalism" characterized Turkey's view of America in 1920s and 1930s. Although nationalists were in favor of following ideas of western civilization, they would not be willing to support anything that would harm or jeopardize Turkish culture. Western civilization was the goal, but that did not mean neglecting Turkish characteristics. Atatürk's close acquaintances thought that "America's co-operation" seemed less threatening as America was able to stabilize British and French influences.<sup>16</sup> In *New York Times* there was an article published in 1929, entitled "Turkish government orders Americanization of the People as the Real Way to Progress." In the article, the author stated that "the influence of the United States is replacing, almost entirely without the cognizance of Americans, the traditional cultural influence of France and the ethical effects of the Koran in the new Turkey." The deputy Falih Rıfkı Atay said that "Americanism and not Europeanism must serve as the basis for our reform." In education, America became the role model for New Turkey as the article suggested.<sup>17</sup> As a cultural bridge, American missionary

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<sup>14</sup> Arslan, *Cinema in Turkey : A New Critical History*, 76.

<sup>15</sup> Chamber of Certified Public Accountants of Ankara. "Yıllar İtibariyle Türkiye Nüfusu," accessed 23, 2013 [http://www.asmmmo.org.tr/asmmmo/content.php?content\\_id=413](http://www.asmmmo.org.tr/asmmmo/content.php?content_id=413).

<sup>16</sup> Robert L. Daniel, "The United States and The Turkish Republic Before World War II: Cultural Dimension," *Middle East Journal* 21 (Winter 1967): 52-53.

<sup>17</sup> "Turkish Government Orders Americanization of the People as the Real Way to Progress, " *the New York Times*, September 29, 1929, 3.

schools, colleges were given as examples of spreading the ideas of Westernization according to Henry Elisha Allen. Like Robert Daniel, he emphasized the dilemma of Turkish approach. Although there was a will to learn these agencies of Western civilization, there was also fear and suspicion towards them, as he wrote in 1935 that they were, seen as "dangerous and insidious representatives of a spirit alien to Turkey's national self-interest."<sup>18</sup> He mentioned that there were literary translations going on in the 1930s in Turkey by the Publication Committee of the American Board Mission in Turkey. Books by William James, Booker T. Washington, and biography of Abraham Lincoln, Ralph Connor were among them. Mentioning that they contributed to Turkey in many areas such as the education system, house-life and business, he stressed nothing could compete with the influence of American films in Turkey, as he wrote in 1935 that "none has greater potentially, however, than the moving picture, for American films, with their portrayal of American life and customs, seem to dominate the Turkish market, and are well patronized by an eager and impressionable public."<sup>19</sup>

Eugene M. Hinkle, second secretary of the American Embassy in Ankara, in his report, *The Motion Picture in Modern Turkey*, gave a detailed analysis of Turkish adolescents and traced movies influential aspects in 1933 with his interviews. He detected this interest of the young in the Turkish Republic. The report was not published because the Turkish people might interpret as "offensive" though the Motion Pictures wanted to publish it. Eugene M. Hinkle explained "history of the movie" in Turkey dating back to 1901, and he named the film theatres in İstanbul. He

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<sup>18</sup> Henry Elisha Allen, *The Turkish Transformation: A Study in Social and Religious Development* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1935), 23.

<sup>19</sup> Allen, *The Turkish Transformation*, 24.

categorized the movies into their topics and where they were produced. He tried to analyze the audience. His report showed the interviews of 920 school children (both in primary and secondary schools), living in Ankara. Questions included if they kept dreaming of the movie stars in their daily lives, who they loved most, if they were awakened by the movies, how many times they went to the movies, whether they cried while watching, whether they wanted to travel, etc. He also interviewed with 20 young people in Istanbul and 8 of them were female, aged between 15-22. From their replies, one could understand that some of them imitated the movie stars in their manners, in their hair, clothing styles, and read the movie magazines. Movie stars occupied a big space in their lives. He suggested that in Turkey, movies had a striking effect to "bring the west to the east." Comparing Turkey with other American and European cities, he found the effects of movies in Turkey wider, much more powerful and influential on the individual because of the low level of material comfort in relation to goods and services available in Turkey contradicted with what movies presented. He commented that this led people in Turkey attribute more meaning to movies and they had great impact on the individual.<sup>20</sup> He suggested that some scenes could be interpreted by Turks as "erotic" because of the cultural differences, while in Europe and America those scenes would be interpreted as ordinary.<sup>21</sup>

In the New Republic, cinema was also introduced with radio, as "agencies of public education." Cinema was repeatedly on the list of "agencies of public decency." In 1932 Maarif Vekaleti included cinema in that category again among many other things like schools, reading rooms. In 1937, cinema kept its place among newspapers,

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<sup>20</sup>Rıfat N. Bali (presented and annotated by) *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II: The Turkish Cinema in the Early Republican years* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2007), 28.

<sup>21</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 171.

books, theatres as one could understand from Minister of the Interior Şükrü Kaya's speech. One year later (1938), cinema was still pronounced in public decency category.<sup>22</sup> Perception of the cinema was more than an entertainment for the government, it also had an educative side. Serdar Öztürk in this point suggested that visual culture was counted as education of the public; unlike written culture which was "stable and abstract image", it offered "concrete image." It was closer to the oral culture to which the audience was accustomed and was easier to grasp for them. When compared to written culture, considering the fact that literacy rate was low in 1930s, visual culture was able to catch the audience's attention more. He gave the comment of Ercüment Ekrem Talu in 1936: "Public mind, rather than written words and empty remarks, comprehended visual images and ratiocinated them."<sup>23</sup> Öztürk suggested that cinema was able to introduce the new alphabet to Turkish society. It was more successful in dispersing widely those letters when compared to the press as it was cinema which reached over half million people a day, whereas press could not come up to more than fifty thousand.<sup>24</sup>

In his book, *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbulu'nda Gündelik Fragmanlar* -published in 2012- Hakan Kaynar examined modernization in terms of daily experiences in İstanbul under many categories. In one section he talked about the relation with the person and İstanbul by questioning on what level cinema was influential by examining newspapers and many other examples, mostly from Turkish novels. He noticed that feminine beauty was associated with American artists,

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<sup>22</sup> Serdar Öztürk, "Halk Eğitimi ve Kitle İletişim Araçları," in *Cumhuriyet Döneminde İletişim: Kurumlar ve Politikalar*, comp. Nazife Güngör (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2010), 182-183.

<sup>23</sup> Öztürk "Halk Eğitimi ve Kitle İletişim Araçları," 200.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 201.

although he did not explain it in a detailed way. Tracey Jean Bouisseau, in her article "Kiss Kiss, Bang Bang Nation: Hollywood and the En-gendering of Modernity in the Youth of the Early Turkish Republic," (2012) by summarizing only Eugene M. Hinkle's report entitled *The Motion Picture in Modern Turkey* concluded that Turkish youth, influenced by movies, perceived modernity as Hollywood. American films were effective in directing youth's conception of modernity related to all fields of life such as "social values, personal deportment, consumerism, wealth, and relationships between men and women and within families."<sup>25</sup> Bouisseau's argument was limited to only Eugene M. Hinkle's Report, making generalizations only from one source. Savaş Arslan suggested that American films were advertised through fan magazines, and he mentioned *Holivut* magazine (1931-1937), in a very few words, as depicting Hollywood movies and lives of actors and actresses like other movie magazines.<sup>26</sup>

This research, in a broader perspective, examines American cinema and Turkish press' contribution to women's representation in Turkey in 1930s. The first chapter will set the brief background of the phases Turkish women went through: what the Ottoman perception of women was, what changes occurred in Tanzimat period and most importantly how the transformation of these changes would be reflected in the Republican state. I will cover other scholars' analysis of "the idealized woman image" in the Turkish Republic. I will emphasize duality in women's portrayal by expressing Ottoman identity to show the traditional aspect of the society which was harder to

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<sup>25</sup>Tracey Jean Boisseau , " Kiss Kiss, Bang Bang Nation : Hollywood and The En-gendering of Modernity in the Youth of the Early Turkish Republic," in *The Transnational Turn in American studies: Turkey and the United States*, eds. Tanfer Emin-Tunç and Bahar Gürsel (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 189.

<sup>26</sup> Arslan, *Cinema in Turkey : A New Critical History*, 42.

erase and the idealized image which Atatürk tried to apply to "new women." "Motherhood" would be stressed as well.

The second chapter will show the new representation of women through cinema discourse. The penetration of American popular culture through the cinema channel and what kind of discourse it produced would be highlighted through Turkish women's strong interest in cinema, interpretation of America by the audience, reactions of the public with its contents and discontents. Examples from advertisements would be included to show how it entered the Turkish daily codes.

The third chapter will show that the Turkish press used American stars as there were few Turkish actresses. In this empty sphere, American stars took the place of Turkish actresses as a result. Therefore, third chapter would focus on the circulation of the Turkish press' idealized image of women through cinema in terms of beauty, fashion, sports, gender relations, personality traits. Lack of motherhood will be stressed. Cinema stars praised independent, single, working women. This topic will be also included in the chapter. The educative sides of Turkish fan magazines would be also mentioned.

This research would use 1930s newspapers, *Cumhuriyet* mostly, Turkish movie fan magazines *Holivut* mainly, *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, and *Yıldız* magazine.<sup>27</sup> These three movie fan magazines were chosen in this study because they depict American cinema stars as a role model for women in terms of beauty, body shape, size, manners, personality traits. Anthony Slide suggested that fan magazines are "distinctly American," "uniquely American literary form," and "a cultural symbol

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<sup>27</sup> *Holivut* magazine was published between 1931-1937. *Holivut İstanbul Magazin* was published between 1936-1938. *Yıldız* was published between 1938-1954. *Yıldız*'s only 1930s issues will be included.



of its time."<sup>28</sup> *Holivut* magazine -which stated that it took American movie fan magazines *Photoplay* and *Picture Show* as a role model- would have a crucial role in this research. Eugene M. Hinkle's report (1933) *The Motion Picture in Modern Turkey* would be used as a primary source too.

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<sup>28</sup> Anthony Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine: A History of Star Makers, Fabricators, and Gossip Mongers* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 9.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **BACKGROUND**

#### **2.1 Women In Ottoman Times**

Modernization has a long history in Western civilizations. The modernity process which evolved the western world had also become role models for other countries and all these attempts to reach the goals were associated with words like progress, advance, and westernization. However, modernization bringing all these baggage of terms and concepts in the Ottoman context had a different structure and paradigms.

Until the nineteenth century, religion, kinship relations, social status and gender were "the defining factors" for the person living in the Ottoman reign.<sup>29</sup> Islam played a big role in the structure of the Ottoman State and it directly had an effect in the lives of the individuals as it was the Şeriat (rules) based on Quran that regulated

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<sup>29</sup> Carter Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 117-118.

the relation between the individual and the state.<sup>30</sup> Individuality was not encouraged, and educational opportunities were small in range, creating a limited scope for the individual to develop one-self. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century, there came out new powerful influences or, in other words, agencies of modernism such as cameras, pianos, novels, newspapers which would change the Ottoman society radically. There were new schools established for girls (1859). The appearance of modern print media and reading public would not only lead to "the development of bourgeois subjectivity," but would also change the demand of public partly as they would later be willing for a constitutional system of government.<sup>31</sup> Yet, modernism, in a conventional society where the individual is ruled by "censorship and repression" would also create contradictory positions for the Ottomans who would perceive the world in a different angle, divided into two as *alla franca* (Frankish or European style) and *allaturca* (Turkish style.)"<sup>32</sup> Still, it was hard to reach the modernity level so quickly for the Eastern countries in comparison to western ones which experienced modernity "over three centuries."<sup>33</sup> In Daryush Shayegan's words, the east, falling behind "this carnival of change", would suffer from "cultural schizophrenia" while being overshadowed by the Western modernity.<sup>34</sup> The Ottoman case fitted into that. Although the new republic was founded by Atatürk which followed the West and took it as a role model, traditions and the mentality of the old Islamic state was not

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<sup>30</sup> Emre Kongar, *21. Yüzyılda Türkiye : 2000'li Yıllarda Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1999), 60.

<sup>31</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*, 117-118.

<sup>32</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*, 177.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel Lerner, *The passing of traditional society : Modernizing the Middle East* (Glencoe Ill.: Free Press, 1965), 65.

<sup>34</sup> Nilüfer Göle, *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling* (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1996), 28.

completely challenged, which also led to diversity and conflict in the new Turkish state.

The question of women was part of the problem in this modernization conflict which came into the agenda of the Ottoman State in the middle of the nineteenth century. Tanzimat supporters and Young Turks who were willing to modernize the Ottoman State had to also discuss and come up solutions for this issue. However, it was during the New Republic period that attempts to make equal reforms in law, education and politics for women would achieve legal success.

In the Ottoman state, women did not have a large function in public sphere. Even from childhood, their education was limited in that direction. Teaching them how to be a good housewife was the ultimate aim for mothers in raising their daughters. Religious duties could be also a primary concern for girls. Learning how to handle housework started at a very early age; knowing how to use the loom, making their own clothes, bed, dining sets were among them. Even buying sheets, clothes from outside was sometimes not preferred because a girl had to be already capable of making her own things.<sup>35</sup> It was out of question that these tasks- which parents gave importance to- were challenged because they were accepted as a girl's main duty. It was not surprising that literacy rate was low among women in such conditions.<sup>36</sup> Women were able to go to marketplaces and bazaars though male dominance was constantly present. There were cases in which wealthy women owned shops, but still

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<sup>35</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, eds. Kazım Arısan, Duygu Arısan Günay (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), 102.

<sup>36</sup> Raphaella Lewis, *Osmanlı'da Gündelik Yaşam* (Ankara :Adapa, 2006), 99.

they had to leave the business to a male relative as the Islam tradition limited woman's sphere to home.<sup>37</sup>

In the Ottoman society families generally decided on the ideal husband or wife for their daughters and sons. Young men sometimes avoided their parents' decisions by changing their location; however for young women to move was harder. There were few cases in which women ran away secretly with their loved ones.<sup>38</sup> Arranged marriages existed in large numbers. The daughters' desires were not important nor did the boys' desires make any difference. Even getting to know each other before marriage was uncommon and communication between man and woman before marriage was not encouraged in arranged marriages.<sup>39</sup> The concept of love of western civilization was foreign to the Ottomans in that sense.

An unmarried status was also judged. Women got married at an early age, following puberty. It was a very common belief that young people should marry because sexual desires for males would appear if they stayed unmarried which would lead to extreme confusion and disorder and cause "moral evils" in the public. Unmarried couples were not appropriate according to the tradition, that kind of life style raised the concern that "satan would be present." Sexual purity of daughters had a great significance for families.<sup>40</sup>

Nezihe Muhuddin portrayed Turkish women, especially those living in the cities during II Abdulhamid Period (1870-1908), as unhappy and limited to express their some behaviours as some of their actions were considered as "shame." "Reading

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<sup>37</sup> Mehrdad Kia, *Daily life in the Ottoman Empire* (Santa Barbara, Calif. : Greenwood, 2011), 82.

<sup>38</sup> Suraiya Faruqi, *Subjects of the Sultan : Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 102-103.

<sup>39</sup> Lewis, *Osmanlı'da Gündelik Yaşam*, 104.

<sup>40</sup> Kia, *Daily life in the Ottoman Empire*, 183.

is disgraceful (shame), travelling is disgraceful. Showing your face is sin. Laughing quickly is sin."<sup>41</sup> Muhiddin was surprised not to get a response from the newly married women, even talking to strangers was not appropriate kind of behaviour for some of them. Having children made no change in their communication with others, still they were expected to keep silent and keep their face covered with scarf as a display of respect when their brother-in-laws showed up. Muhiddin suggested that ulema's preachings about women's covering were strict, they even expressed a strong disapproval of women showing hair, their future would be corrupted "as the flames of hell would ramble around their necks like a raging dragon."<sup>42</sup>

The beginning of "purposive modernization" in Tanzimat period challenged the "traditional Islamic culture". New ideas not only flourished but also brought questions in the late nineteenth century. The women question and women's role in the society was one of them. Writers such as Namık Kemal and Şemseddin Sami stressed the importance of women's education. "Polygamy, the propriety of women's concealing" were on the agenda. The new constitution in 1876 set the stage of questioning the role of religion, modernism and women. After the year 1908 with the Constitutional monarch, women's entrance into public sphere became clearer in terms of being "professionals, writers and activists".<sup>43</sup>

In Tanzimat period, being "a good wife, good mother and good Muslim" were the qualifications the society expected from women. Being a good wife had religious connotations. A woman's obedience to her husband had a meaning equal to obedience

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<sup>41</sup> Ayşegül Baykan, *Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk kadını (1931): Türk feminizminin Düşünsel Kökenleri ve Feminist Tarih Yazıcılığından Bir Örnek* (İstanbul : İletişim, 1999), 87.

<sup>42</sup> Baykan, *Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk kadını*, 87-88.

<sup>43</sup> Zehra F. Arat, *Deconstructing images of "the Turkish woman"* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1997), 6-8.

to God. Mothers educating their children manners and morals were a primary concern and expectation of the society from women, because their children would be the future of the state.<sup>44</sup> Celal Nuri wrote that the "advancement of the Turks" would start with the progress of women. "The improvement of the conditions of the women" would bear fruits because they would raise their children in better conditions, "once they (the children) grow up, will reconcile the state and the people".<sup>45</sup> This pragmatic role the society assigned to women would also continue in Atatürk's period, too.

## **2.2. Women In Republican Period**

In Republican period, Turkish women, compared to other Islam countries, had significant rights and roles in public sphere. In public life, modernity showed itself by banishing curtains in trams which put a distance between men and women in public transportation. This regulation raised questions how "Moslem Republic" could allow such an act in the parliamentary.<sup>46</sup> In 1926, the Turkish Civil Code, adapted from the Swiss Civil Code, abolished polygamy and gave equal rights to both sexes in divorce. Divorcing, option to have children's custody, free compulsory education were the legal rights women already gained in 1920s. The 1930s, on the other hand, signified the enfranchisement of women, with the right to elect and be elected.<sup>47</sup> Swiss code

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<sup>44</sup> Ayşenur Kurtoğlu, "Tanzimat Dönemi İlk Kadın Yayınında Dinin Yer Alış Biçimleri," in *Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete Kadının Tarihi Dönüşümü* ed. Yıldız Ramazanoğlu (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2000), 28-31.

<sup>45</sup> Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 39.

<sup>46</sup> Nermin Abadan-Unat, *Women in Turkish Society* (Leiden : Brill, 1981), 12-13.

was taken as an example. However, Abadan-Unat suggested that the Swiss Civil Code did not promote "a principle of absolute equality between husbands and wives" and accepted father as "the head of the family." Although the Civil Code was liberating for the newly established Turkish Republic which wanted to break its ties with the Ottoman State, it did not offer a total equality for both sexes as the wife sometimes had to get also consent of her husband when she wanted to work or follow a career.<sup>48</sup> New laws provided equal rights, but how they challenged the patriarchy was another question.

Although Atatürk did not legally ban veiling in public, what he wanted from the society was to follow a more Western style. He challenged old dress codes for Turkish women. He thought that covering limited their life in public place. In his words:

In some places, I see women who hide their faces and eyes by throwing a piece of fabric, a scarf, or something like that over their heads, and when a man passes by, they turn their backs to him or close up by sitting on the ground. What is the meaning and explanation of this behaviour? Gentleman, would the mothers and daughters of a civilized nation assume such an absurd and vulgar pose? This is a situation that ridicules our nation. It has to be corrected immediately."<sup>49</sup>

However, Turkish women had to find a balance in their choice of clothes and behaviour; there was a limit. Women were expected to keep their chastity. In Izmir, in 1923 Atatürk made it clear that he did not approve some women because of their "mimicking the European conduct and behaviour" and "insufficient clothing that cannot be presented as an outfit even at the most liberal ball rooms of Europe".<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Abadan-Unat, *Women in Turkish Society*, 14.

<sup>49</sup> Zehra F. Arat "Turkish Women and The Republican Reconstruction of Tradition," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity, and Power*, eds. Fatma Müge Göçek and Shiva Balaghi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 61.

<sup>50</sup> Arat, "Turkish Women and The Republican Reconstruction of Tradition," 62.



Scholar Ayşe Durakbaşı suggested that women's incorporation with the Republic regime also signified a western style of life in the house which resulted in transformation of roles. In the middle class, harem and selamlık (where women and men sat separately) of the past were turned into guest rooms where both sexes could be hosted, regardless of their sex, men and women together could sit in the same place and converse with each other in the same room. Guest rooms were also the place where "kabul günleri" were held in the morning. Women could talk about fashion, etiquette, daily life, education of children, love life.<sup>51</sup>

Transformation of houses was a direct result of the Kemalist rule. Kemalist ideology assessed some of conventional and old norms as backwards while some of them were appreciated. It was not surprising that a new type of women emerged with the Kemalist ideology. New republic aimed for "equality in gender;" one can find, in some respect, influences of French revolutionists' ideas of equality and liberty, as Durakbaşı suggested. Atatürk not only supported women to fight against conventions, but also directed them to follow national ideals and still keep their moral qualities. New type of women was reflected as the new Republic's symbol. Built in the Republic Period, "healthy and young" figures of men and women as torchbearers, gave the message that they were the guards of the "revolutions, progress, enlightenment."<sup>52</sup> Women were the proof of change to show other countries that Turkey got rid of its Ottoman ties and turned its face to western countries and found its higher place in western civilizations.

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<sup>51</sup> Ayşe Durakbaşı, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve "Münevver Erkekler," in *75 yılda kadınlar ve erkekler* ed. Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu (İstanbul : Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 44.

<sup>52</sup> Ayşe Durakbaşı, *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), 24-25.

What defined the "ideal woman" during Atatürk's regime could be also revealed through this dialogue between a teacher and Atatürk at Teachers Training School For Girls in Izmir in 1925.

A Female Teacher candidate: What should the Turkish woman be like?

M. K. Atatürk: The Turkish woman should be the most enlightened, most virtuous, and most reserved woman of the world... The duty of the Turkish woman is raising generations that are capable of preserving and protecting the Turk with his mentality, strength and determination. The woman who is the source and social foundation of the nation can fulfil her duty only if she is virtuous... Let's remember the famous verse by {the poet} Fikret: "Naturally declines the mankind, if the woman is destitute."<sup>53</sup>

Scholar Zehra F. Arat commented that this dialogue portrayed what "ideal" distinguishing marks women should have in order to contribute to the "nation-building project." This dialogue was important for understanding how the State constructed "an idealized prototype" for women and it was also a sign of how Turkish women wanted to take part in "the construction of their gender."<sup>54</sup>

The ideal women were also mothers of the future state, who raised the next generation. Arat stressed that Atatürk perceived motherhood as a vital virtue.<sup>55</sup> In early republic period, women were encouraged to enlarge their roles in public but a better nation required republican motherhood in this ideology. In Atatürk's lines:

The most important duty of woman is motherhood. The importance of this duty is better understood, if one considers that the earliest education takes place on one's mother's lap. Our nation decided to be a strong nation.<sup>56</sup>

The idea of modernization in the new republic assigned women to be both wives and mothers. Republic ideology was aware of the fact that women would mold

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<sup>53</sup> Arat, *Deconstructing images of "the Turkish woman,"* 1.

<sup>54</sup> Arat *Deconstructing images of "the Turkish woman,"* 1-2.

<sup>55</sup> Arat "Turkish Women and The Republican Reconstruction of Tradition," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity, and Power*, 60.

<sup>56</sup> Arat "Turkish Women and The Republican Reconstruction of Tradition," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity, and Power*, 60.

the next generation. Seyfi Kurtbek in his book *Modern Yaşayış Bilgileri* (1939) would point out that grandmothers and conventions should be looked after carefully so that the new generation would not get lost in this new western style of life introduced by Atatürk. Atatürk's new regime was against polygamy and the invisibility of women in public life. He supported the idea of women's education, their right to choose their husband. Ural suggested that women's lives were changed by reformist men, but it was also those reformist men who drew the line or the limit. They applied their ideal "woman image" to the society.<sup>57</sup>

The idea of "modern family" had a role in the "Kemalist women identity" ideology. However, Kemalist reforms did not portray one type of woman; it was a combination of many features which existed at the same time. New standards were created in order to reach the highest level of civilization. Kemalist ideology, while designing "modern femininity," encouraged women to have careers, join charities and clubs, be educated mothers and wives, but also wanted them to know how to dance in balls, follow the fashion.<sup>58</sup> Findely mentioned the new career space and also new gender roles generated for women in the Republic period. Teachers, civil servants, architects, physicians, and assembly members were the new jobs which women could have an opportunity to make a career of. The social side of women was encouraged with ballroom dancing and beauty contests. There were "expectations" for the Turkish women.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ural, "1930'larda Âdâb-ı Muâşeret Kitaplarında Kadın İmgesi," 89.

<sup>58</sup> Durakbaşı, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu," 46.

<sup>59</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*, 279.

Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, a prominent writer of the 1930s, defined the new type of woman in weekly newspaper *Yeni Adam* (New Man) combining many features of women in early Republic Era:

New type of woman is not a housewife. First of all she is productive. Now the woman type who only consumes can no longer be defended economically or morally. New woman is the positive woman who can provide a secular upbringing and discipline to her children and be worth to a long-life friend to her husband. New type of woman is no longer a negative sex in relation to men, but fits into the idea of complementary, constructive wife, friend. New type of woman also brings the idea of new body. A beauty that is not slim, fragile or sick but a fresh beauty identifies with power, health, agility, success.<sup>60</sup>

Turkish perception of Westernization was synonymous with progress and modernization in early Republic Period.<sup>61</sup> Turkish modernization was different from Western modernity because Western modernism was shaped by industrialization, production, class struggles while Turkish modernism was a product of both Western modernism and Turkish elites. These elites were secular and reformists and they thought that rupture from the traditional Islamic norms would also open the way for secularization of not only women but also the secularization of the society.<sup>62</sup>

Although many reforms provided women with legal rights and led them to enter into the public sphere more visibly, Turkish patriarchy itself was only partially challenged. Durakbaşı suggested that Kemalist reforms harmonized modernism and moralism. Ideology promoted them to protect their manners and morals; hide their sexuality so that they could reach a respected level professionally in the society where they could compete with men. Women who supported Kemalist reforms emphasized their "professional identity" rather than "gender identity" in this respect. This idealism

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<sup>60</sup> Durakbaşı, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu," 43.

<sup>61</sup> Arat "Turkish Women and The Republican Reconstruction of Tradition," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity, and Power*, 58.

<sup>62</sup> Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 11.

revealed itself in also fathers who followed Kemalist ideology. They were in favour of protecting their family honour while raising their "New Republic's model daughters".<sup>63</sup>

Turkey in the process of modernization, transferring from Ottoman rule- which involved several ethnic groups- to a nation-state, was in a "cultural shift;" there was an endeavour to borrow the western style of life, "gender behaviour, body care, and the daily customs of the people" and even to remove the negative Turk image in people's minds and place it with their own.<sup>64</sup>

Adaptation of western life was a hard challenge for the public in early Republic period in the beginning. There were cases in which men and women refused to dance with each other. Historian Cihan Aktaş suggested that Atatürk even used his authority to make them dance together in the early balls. When a soldier expressed his discontents about a refusal he encountered when he offered to dance with a woman, Atatürk opposed to him strongly: "I do not believe that a single woman would exist on earth that would turn down the dance offer of a Turkish soldier in uniform. Now I command! Disband to the saloon! Forward march! Dance!"<sup>65</sup>

Cihan Aktaş, referring to Şevket Rûya's observation, mentioned that in one of the earliest balls in early Republican Period women were not even in presence. To the ball Atatürk hosted in Atatürk Orman Çiftliği, very few women were present although they were encouraged to attend by the state. Famous writers Yakup Kadri's, Falih Rıfkı Atay's and Ruşen Eşref's wives went to the ball, but the wife of prominent writer Yakup Kadri, Leman Kadri, astonished by the number of women participants, would

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<sup>63</sup> Durakbaşı, *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*, 26-28.

<sup>64</sup> Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 11-12.

<sup>65</sup> Cihan Aktaş, *Tanzimat'tan 12 Mart'a Kılık Kıyafet ve İktidar* (İstanbul : Kapı Yayınları, 2006), 155.

reflect her concerns about the situation by asking Atatürk about in a critical way "whether victims of the revolution were only them." She wondered about "where military assistants' member of parliament's delegates' wives were." Aktaş emphasized that a number of actresses from Ankara's Fresco Bar were called to attend this ball intentionally because it was the will of the state to show the public that women would also attend these kind of events. Yakup Kadri's, Falih Rıfkı's and Ruşen Eşref's wives looked for leaving the ball because they were also disturbed by the presence of those actresses.<sup>66</sup> This anecdote showed that the number of women who attended balls was very low in the beginning. There was also prejudice against women actresses.

Tülin Ural suggested that modern life was still an alien concept for women and had to be learnt. Feliha Sedat in her book *Genç Kızlara Adab-ı Muaşeret Usulleri* (1932) stated her concerns about the absence of role models in Turkey. She compared Turkish girls with French girls. While French ones had role models such as their mothers, sisters, she emphasized the absence of role models for young women in Turkey. "But you have to perform requirements of new life all by yourself; there are not mothers nor elders you can copy with them in your dress nor in outside life nor the books you will read..." Without role models, young Turkish women faced with difficulty in adapting modernity.<sup>67</sup>

However İstanbul was different than other cities in Turkey as it was the centre of the change. The article published in 1926 in *Resimli Perşembe* titled "What sort of women do men look for when they decide to set up a new life for themselves" showed that the number of women who danced increased, even bringing tension. Male

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<sup>66</sup> Aktaş, *Tanzimat'tan 12 Mart'a Kılık Kıyafet ve İktidar*, 154-155.

<sup>67</sup> Ural, "1930'larda Âdâb-ı Muâşeret Kitaplarında Kadın İmgesi," 90.

authority in family relations and the new position of women were questioned by nationalist modernists, entitled "new way of life."

The new way of life made its strongest appearance in İstanbul. The old families run in a patriarchal way are falling off one by one. Young girls are dropping into the streets, the bars, the dance halls... and ruining their futures in the process.<sup>68</sup>

New standards of life shook the concept of family inevitably. Together with the clash of Ottoman family and the birth of new nuclear family with new gender roles, 1930s witnessed- in Z. F. Fındıkçioğlu's words- "the family crisis." From Ziya Gökalp's work, it can be concluded that family ties were also in a transition phase. Caring about only oneself in the family, increase in divorce rates, different ways of communication and relationship between family members were changing factors according to Ziya Gökalp. "The democratization the state" had a connection with "the democratization of the family", but additionally one of the consequences he drew attention to was "the moral crisis" following the transformation.<sup>69</sup> In the magazine *Sevimli Ay*, one of the writers mentioned the conflict in the article, entitled "What does a Man Expect from His Wife?"

These days women have become alienated from many, many of their responsibilities. They neither want to look after their children, nor do anything else! These women are the daughters of men who raised them in dance halls... Well, you may say that these are the behaviour patterns of a minority of women, but let us not forget that the majority follows in the footsteps of the minority.<sup>70</sup>

The writer in the magazine continued his article by commenting that "a misunderstood modernity has made women lazy... perhaps this situation results from their rather sudden emergence from seclusion into a free style of life."<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *İstanbul households: Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1991), 198.

<sup>69</sup> Duben and Behar, *İstanbul households*, 195.

<sup>70</sup> Duben and Behar, *İstanbul households*, 197.

<sup>71</sup> Duben and Behar, *İstanbul households*, 197.

Durakbaşı mentioned that civil servants, bureaucrats, military officers' families endeavoured to be modern in their clothes, entertainment, life style, but becoming modern brought conflicts between the wife and husband as well as between the old and new generation. Women and their interest in fashion and applying it into their lives such as using short hair, and sometimes selection of their clothes could be a problem in Turkish families.<sup>72</sup>

In daily life women and men were in public sphere together, the 1930s was an adaptation process of this closer contacts. Hakan Kaynar mentioned a letter written to newspaper *Tan* by a woman depicting how she got cross with her husband. A male stranger saluted her in a tram while her husband was present, and this led his husband to leave her suddenly although the woman did not respond.<sup>73</sup> This letter showed the tensions in relations between men and women existing in the modern life.

Ural suggested that the new ideology stressed motherhood because they were afraid that chastity, morality of women, and family values would be demolished as a consequence of modernity. In 1938, Hüsnü Savaşçı, the director of culture in People's House in Kayseri, made this worry explicit in a conference:

We should avoid raising our daughters all-out free, sassy, floozy all-out. Most girls who are raised like that cannot start a family. Therefore, we should raise them as a mother of tomorrow who depends on her family and country love.<sup>74</sup>

The scope of Atatürk's modernist project was large. It even included the choice of music, cloth, preservation of health, running of the household, etc. Scholar Alemdaroğlu suggested that the ideology - validating its arguments grounded on

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<sup>72</sup> Durakbaşı, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu," 44.

<sup>73</sup> Hakan Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme - Cumhuriyet İstanbulu'ndan Gündelik Fragmanlar* (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012), 68-69.

<sup>74</sup> Ural, "1930'larda Âdâb-ı Muâşeret Kitaplarında Kadın İmgesi," 90.



science and rationality- was in favour of abandoning traditional codes while desiring to create a "civilized body" that supported "civilized manners, taste and aesthetics."<sup>75</sup>

The Kemalist ideology cared about people's outfits. Traces of the Ottoman past were being wanted to be replaced with Western concepts. The ideology placed a particular importance on bodies which affected "perception of beauty and aesthetics." Falih Rıfkı Atay, a close friend of Atatürk and worked as an author, deputy, criticized "the men in the street," that their "crooked, fat, pale-faced" suggested "having nothing common with Europeans of Paris, Berlin, or Stockholm."<sup>76</sup> It could be interpreted that Europeans were the role models in their postures.

Selim Sırrı Tarcan, a prominent figure in the field of modern physical education, was influential in the Republican era. He gave lessons about health, and physical education. He presented women western dances. Tarcan's speech in İzmir (1928) signified why sports were important to women. "Women's need for physical education is greater than that of men. Strong women would give birth to strong children."<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Ayça Alemdaroğlu, "Politics of the Body and Eugenic Discourse in Early Republican Turkey," *Body&Society* 11, no.3 (2005): 61-76.

<sup>76</sup> Alemdaroğlu, "Politics of the Body and Eugenic Discourse in Early Republican Turkey," 64-65.

<sup>77</sup> Demet Lüküslü, Şakir Dinçşahin, "Shaping Bodies Shaping Minds: Selim Sırrı Tarcan and The Origins of Modern Physical Education in Turkey," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30 (2013): 203.

## CHAPTER III

### "HOLLYWOODIZATION" AND WOMAN

Serdar Öztürk referring to film historian Nijat Özön mentioned that the years from 1923 to 1939 were categorized as "Theatre Film Makers" period in Turkish cinema.<sup>78</sup> Savaş Arslan also referring to Nijat Özön mentioned that 1923 signified the birth of Turkish Republic while 1939 marked Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death the year before.<sup>79</sup> Öztürk suggested that those years represented "conflicts." He listed conflicting opinions about cinema in the society such as low literacy rate, and there was a lack of accommodation units in the country. There were relatively low number of Turkish films; however the Turkish press was still interested in Hollywood stars and published news about them.<sup>80</sup>

Creating icons of the time from Hollywood, Turkish cinema was very infertile. Only one man dominated the theatre film-makers period, who came from a theatre

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<sup>78</sup> Serdar Öztürk, "Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sindeki Sinema Uygulamalarını İletişim Sosyolojisi Açısından Yeniden Değerlendirmek," in *Cumhuriyet Döneminde İletişim: Kurumlar Politikalar*, ed. Nazife Güngör (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2010), 318.

<sup>79</sup> Arslan, *Cinema in Turkey*, 23.

<sup>80</sup> Öztürk, "Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sindeki Sinema Uygulamalarını İletişim Sosyolojisi Açısından Yeniden Değerlendirmek," 321-322.

background. Turkish cinema was in the hands of Muhsin Ertuğrul. Nijat Özön suggested that Ertuğrul not only perceived cinema as a secondary job opportunity for his friends, but also gave priority to theatre which moved cinema down to a lesser position. Muhsin Ertuğrul both included theatre actors in movies and harmonized theatrical concepts into Turkish cinema. Sometimes what they performed on the stage was taped and considered a movie.<sup>81</sup> Turkish cinema was in a vicious cycle as theatre mentality reigned in it and budgets were low to make movies. Cihat Muammer also stated that there was a lack of studios in Turkey in addition to budget problems.<sup>82</sup> However cinema kept its popularity among society. "Cinematography In Turkey: Our Nation is Under the Influence" was the first page news of Holivut's 14th October, 1934 issue. Turkey's low population compared to cities in America and Europe was mentioned. In spite of the difference, the cinema was still pointed out as "a place which our nation shows interest most."<sup>83</sup>

Only one party, the Republican People's party controlled the state during 1930s but cinema was not in the hands of the state. It lacked any conservative control as Ertan Tunç mentioned that there was not any nationalizing project of Turkish government for cinema while in other fields of art it existed. Even the percentage of tax on cinema tickets which was %33 in the beginning, was reduced to ten percent with Atatürk's intervention after receiving concerns about that issue in the public.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Özön, *Türk Sineması Tarihi*, 100.

<sup>82</sup> Cihat Muammer, "Karilerimizden Nevzat Beye Cevap 'Bizde Film Niçin Yapılmıyor?' sualine cevap," *Holivut*, January 20, 1932, 13.

<sup>83</sup> Cihat Muammer, "Memleketimizde Sinemacılık: Halkımız Tesir Altında Kalıyor," *Holivut*, November 14, 1934, 3.

<sup>84</sup> Ertan Tunç, *Türk Sinemasının Ekonomik Yapısı (1896-2005)* (İstanbul: Doruk Yayınları, 2012), 42-43.

According to the statistics of 1931, which was published in 1933 in *Cumhuriyet*, there were 144 film theatres in total which had a seat capacity of for 58.000 people. The list continued with Adana having 4 movie houses while Trabzon and Eskisehir each had 3 film theatres. During 1931, 7765 films were screened in Turkey. İstanbul was a cinema centre as it had 35 film theatres whereas İzmir had 10 film theatres.<sup>85</sup> In 1929, the number of people who watched movies in İstanbul only was 2,634,939 while in the year, 1930 it was 2,610,604 and then in 1931 it was 2,461,255 according to *Cumhuriyet* newspaper.<sup>86</sup> In the section "*Holivut* in Anatolia," *Holivut* magazine in 1934 suggested that there were film theatres which included talking pictures in cities such as Balıkesir, Adana, Adapazarı, Afyon, Ankara, Bursa, Çanakkale, Diyarbakır, Edirne, Eskişehir, İzmit, Konya, Mersin, Samsun, Sivas, Trabzon, Zonguldak, Akhisar, Antalya, İzmir, Manisa, Aydın, Elazığ, Denizli, Gaziantep, Giresun, Tokat in Turkey.<sup>87</sup> Hinkle estimated the population of Turkey in 1933 as 13,187,514. He suggested that although towns had cinema houses, their populations were lower. Therefore he concluded that cinema met with "limited public." But he also added that it was that public which "compose(d) the important and progressive element" in Turkey.<sup>88</sup>

Public taste in movies changed from city to city. While Laurel and Hardy movies were very popular in İstanbul which even led to some Armenian families to call each other with referencing nicknames from the movies,<sup>89</sup> the writer of *Holivut*,

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<sup>85</sup> "Türkiye'de Ne Kadar Sinema Var?" *Cumhuriyet*, March 18, 1933, 2.

<sup>86</sup> "Şehir İstatistiği," *Cumhuriyet*, March 14, 1934, 5.

<sup>87</sup> "*Holivut* Anadolu'da," *Holivut*, August 29, 1934, 3.

<sup>88</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 26.

<sup>89</sup> Ahmet Gürata, "Hollywood in Vernacular: Translation and Cross-Cultural Reception of American Films in Turkey," in *Hollywood Audiences: The Social Experience of Movie-Going*, eds. Melvyn Stokes, Robert C. Allen and Richard Maltby (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), 341.

Faik claimed that people in Diyarbakır did not like the comedy "Serseri" of Laurel and Hardy's.<sup>90</sup>

Nilgün Abisel stated that there was an "imbalance" between domestic and foreign productions during 1930s. She gave the year 1935 as an example to show this gap between the number of domestic and foreign films in Turkey. In 1935, 323 foreign productions were screened in İstanbul but only one of them was Turkish production. Abisel emphasized that most of the films shown were American productions. The rest consisted of German films and other European productions.<sup>91</sup> Other than American movies, there were French and German films screening in Turkey during that time.

Years between 1928- and 1939 gave a picture of how Turkish production was low as in total, Abisel noted that only thirteen Turkish films were produced during this time,<sup>92</sup> while Ertan Tunç suggested that eighteen Turkish films were made between 1930- 1939. Turkish productions could not compare with Hollywood ones in budget, too. Tunç, referring to Öztürk mentioned that cost of a Turkish film in 1939 was near to 20-25.000 Lira while in Hollywood it was triple of that cost, reaching to 60-70.000 Lira.<sup>93</sup> Like only one director's reign (Muhsin Ertuğrul) in this time, only one company İpek film produced those thirteen films.<sup>94</sup> Hollywood companies, Paramount Pictures, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios, 20th Century Fox, Warner Bros and Radio-Keith-Orpheum, also known as "The Big Five" dominated the screens in America.<sup>95</sup> In Turkey, they dominated as well.

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<sup>90</sup> "Holivut Anadoluda," *Holivut*, September 19, 1934, 4.

<sup>91</sup> Abisel, *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar*, 18.

<sup>92</sup> Abisel, *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar*, 18.

<sup>93</sup> Tunç, *Türk Sinemasının Ekonomik Yapısı (1896-2005)*, 67.

<sup>94</sup> Abisel, *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar*, 19.

<sup>95</sup> Douglas Gomery, *The Hollywood Studio System* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1986), 5.

Hinkle classified 27 films shown in Pera, İstanbul in 1932 according to their contents. According to his list, approximately fifty percent of movies depicted "scenes of passionate love making" whereas over ninety percent of movies had alcohol scenes in it. He suggested that approximately 80 percent of movies screened characters that were rich, their depiction of poor ones was less while seventy percent of them showed luxurious things in movies. Over sixty percent of movies had "suggestive clothing" scenes whereas over forty percent of movies showed "sexy dancing." Love became the centre of over seventy percent of movies.<sup>96</sup>

In the article, "Sound Films Win Favor In Turkey," in *the New York Times*, J. W. Collins wrote in 1929 that sound films came out in Turkey in the same year. They were quite popular in Turkey although the language difference created a problem for the audience as Collins wrote that "all the sound films so far presented here were produced in America and only a limited number of spectators are able to understand what is being said."<sup>97</sup>

In the article published in *the Manchester Guardian* in 1937, it was stated that "foreign screen stars" were popular among the Turkish audience although there was "intense nationalism" in Turkey. The writer emphasized that in this list only two stars fitted into Oriental type, which the writer commented as "surprising." He mentioned how the Turkish film company and director were influenced by American productions:

The policy of İpek Films changed. The change was also influenced by the competition which it met from American productions. Muhsin was set to making operettas and light comedies, designed to encourage the Turkish public to take an interest in sport, ballroom dancing, European clothes, and the amenities of Western life. In both the films "If My Wife Should Cheat Me" and "My Darling

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<sup>96</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 76-77.

<sup>97</sup> J.W. Collins. "Sound Films Win Favor in Turkey: But Only Few Audiences Are Able to Understand Talk In Our products," *the New York Times*, November 3, 1929, 3.

Hairdresser," there are beauty chords and bathing belles who sing the Turkish variation of "She's My Baby." Of their kind these films are original and entertaining. In a third picture, farce, "As God is One My Word is One," the attractions of a blond hero are stressed.<sup>98</sup>

*The Manchester Guardian* mentioned in 1937 that in a year, 120,000 postcards of foreign actors, which included Douglas Fairbanks, Greta Garbo, Charlie Chaplin, Rudolph Valentino, Norma Shearer, were sold in Turkey.<sup>99</sup> In *Cumhuriyet*, in 1930, in the article, entitled "Stars Abundance," it was emphasized that the number of postcards in Beyoğlu and İstanbul was so high that it would outnumber the one month salary of head of the financial department of the newspaper. The writer also in the same column mentioned the absence of Turkish stars. As there were not any Turkish stars, they were not in the postcards, either.<sup>100</sup>

Eugene M. Hinkle also suggested in 1933 that Turkish adolescents were interested in collecting pictures of stars. In his report, he mentioned a person's observation in the shop where it was sold:

In one shop, I found several girls sitting and waiting their turn to see the album which contained the movie stars. Each girl purchased a couple. On being left along with the proprietor, he told me that he had sold enough of these postcards in the past few years to own an apartment house. He said that even boys and girls as young as 11 bought them and persons as old as 20. He said they were selling these cards along the Grande Rue De Pera at the rate of 300 to 350 daily.<sup>101</sup>

Hinkle emphasized that postcards were sold to 5 piasters approximately, as they did not cost much, they were sold in large numbers. Those pictures were even framed by the fans. From the interviews made with 211 girls in Ankara lycees, he concluded that 58 percent of them had pictures of cinema stars. Hinkle commented

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<sup>98</sup> "The Cinema in Turkey: Rapid Growth Used For Social Propaganda National Films," *The Manchester Guardian*, February 3, 1937, 9.

<sup>99</sup> "The Cinema in Turkey: Rapid Growth Used For Social Propaganda National Films," *The Manchester Guardian*, February 3, 1937, 9.

<sup>100</sup> "Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Yıldız Bolluğu," *Cumhuriyet*, December 4, 1930, 3.

<sup>101</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 63.

that people established personal bonds with those cards by seeing them like friends.<sup>102</sup>

In 1936, Cihat Kentmen emphasized that Turkish women even kissed the portraits of the cinema actors; they were influenced by them and dreamed of them.<sup>103</sup>

"Influence and benefits of cinema" was the title in the article in *Holivut's* 7 September, 1935's issue. In the front page, it was mentioned that cinema was more than entertainment; moral and sociological aspects of it were emphasized. Effects of cinema was positive according to the writer. In the mind of spectator, it stimulated images which lasted for days. He stressed that those images at some point later turned into only names and pictures of actresses and actors.<sup>104</sup>

Cihat Kentmen wrote about two girls he knew in Bosphorus, who spent their time "solely on lace making, sewing, collecting cards of actresses, actors, and also collecting tiny pictures of them which were put into chocolates." In a conversation he made with them in their house, Kentmen was interested in learning the favourite actors of these two girls. He was surprised when he learned that their answer as their favourite actors were not Roman Novarro or Henry Gara but Robert Montgomery. By giving personality traits of Robert Montgomery, Kentmen explained why everyone loved him, and those girls had admiration for him so much.<sup>105</sup> Hinkle concluded from the interviews that when compared with German, French and Turkish stars, American stars were more popular among Turkish youth. He named Greta Garbo, Ramon Novarro, Lillian Harvey, Billie Dove as the most popular ones.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 63.

<sup>103</sup> Cihat Kentmen, "Sinema ve Aşk," *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, December 10, 1936, 24-25.

<sup>104</sup> "Sinemanın Tesiri ve Faidesi," *Holivut*, September 7, 1935, 3, 14.

<sup>105</sup> Cihat Kentmen, "Herkesin Sevdiği Robert Montgomery," *Holivut*, June 20, 1935, 8.

<sup>106</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 132.



Fans' interest in their idols was mentioned in Cihat Muammer's comment in *Holivut*. He even compared American fans to Turkish fans. In America, when Clark Gable's fans wanted to have his autograph, "suddenly, the girl pulled off her coat and tore her bra quickly and said "please, sign here." Even Gable's maid was in love with Clark Gable according to Cihat Muammer. He wrote that women in Turkey were also impulsive in their actions:

Don't think that these events only take place in America, I saw that people showed huge interest to Marie Bell, Don Jose Mojika in İstanbul. They were surprised how women reacted in tea party for the actor Derefine. Cinema causes all these...These days, it is the cinema stars who hurt people most and they are also the ones who kindle the fire of love. Cinema stars, in our age, are like a bullet.<sup>107</sup>

Idealization of movie stars was common among young women in Turkey. In cinema, young women were talking about the actor Clark Gable's good looking features and masculine character. That conversation took the attention of the writer of the section Hem Nalına Hem Mihnâ in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. A few days later, he again heard about the same admiration towards Gable by other women at a different place. His anecdotes showed that Hollywood stars changed the way what women looked for in men. He heard of women talking about Clark Gable as "a man should be as harsh, tough as Clark Gable." What people watched had parallels in their shaping what they wanted in the reality. Griffith suggested that "brutal lover" type being popular among girls was a consequence of cinema as they watched Clark Gable slapping main characters in the movies.<sup>108</sup> Against their positive opinions about Clark Gable, when the writer of "Hem Nalına Hem Mihnâ" suggested that Clark Gable had big ears, he was criticised by women severely about his opinion. The writer imagined

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<sup>107</sup> Cihat Muammer, "Klark Gebl Geri Kuper ile eğleniyor," *Holivut*, July 25, 1934, 11.

<sup>108</sup> Richard Griffith, *The Movies* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), 271.

that "if Clark Gable comes to İstanbul one day, a transatlantic ship full of women and young girls would be willing to run away with him."<sup>109</sup> The same writer in *Cumhuriyet*'s issue of 14 April, 1933, wrote about how young women surrounded the film star Dose Mohika in a tea party in Turkey. Young women's close intimacy towards him, their strong wish to dance with him and showing their will without being shy, even their trying to jump on him made the writer surprised.<sup>110</sup>

According to the section "Holivut Anadolu'da" ( Hollywood in Anatolia), even in Eskişehir, cinema lovers were numerous. When a question was asked to "a casanova man" about public interest in Eskişehir, he answered that "young people loved Greta Garbo the most." He commented that "there would be a very few number of men who would not fall in love with the seducing and flirtatious girl in the film *Alayın Kızı*,"(General's Daughter.) He also mentioned Joan Crawford pronouncing her name as Jen Krevfort, who represented a symbol of love and beauty for them. He stressed that female stars being in the same league with male actors and reaching success like men was an unbelievable concept for Turkish men. He pointed out that Hollywood was responsible for young men's "wearing knickerbockers, growing pencil thin moustaches, walking like as if they were "*Holivut* heroes" in the streets. The magazine supported this interview with photographs of Philip Holmes and Clark Gable and asked readers "which one would you prefer?" On the other page, there was a portrait of a smiling man taken in head shot. The magazine wrote that "it was the will of the reader to publish his photo."<sup>111</sup> From letters of readers, *Holivut* magazine informed that a lot of readers wrote to the magazine that they looked like Marlene

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<sup>109</sup> "Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Sinemada Bir Afet!," *Cumhuriyet*, March 21, 1933, 3.

<sup>110</sup> "Hem Nalına Hem Mihına:Sırnaşıklık," *Cumhuriyet*, April 14, 1933, 3.

<sup>111</sup> "Holivut Anadolu'da," *Holivut*, August 1, 1934, 4-5.

Dietrich while men wrote that they looked like Ramon Novarro. Because of these letters a competition was announced by the magazine, requesting them to send their photographs.<sup>112</sup>

Eugene M. Hinkle's report showed a 19 year old girl who wanted to act like Hollywood stars and imitated them.

My favourite stars are Douglas Fairbanks, Jeannette MacDonald, Maurice Chevalier, Lillian Harvey, Henri Garat, Jean Murat, Harry Cooper, Harold Lloyd and Mary Glory. ..I would like to look like Marie Bell and would like to be a movie star if I were to succeed! I like Lillian Harvey's gestures because she is so graceful and try to smile like her. I would love to dress like stars unfortunately cannot afford it. As regards beautification, I use some make-up as the average girl does now and do physical culture to have a nice supple figure as the stars.<sup>113</sup>

The same girl told that it was the movies that caused her to desire to be wealthy.

Another young women who was 22 years old told that she copied cinema stars "unconsciously" in the daily life. In addition to this, she envied cinema stars' blond hair, and "lashes of some of the blue eyed actresses." She tried to apply their beauty styles in her physical appearance. She was also attracted to the "American films with the pretty American girls."<sup>114</sup>

In the front page of *Holivut's* September 12, 1934 issue, rather than an entertainment form, cinema's "uniting" aspect was highlighted, grounding that cinema would have the ability to "unite" people internationally because it could make grounds for a better connection with people, by turning feelings, traditions into one form. In the article, the writer Fa mentioned that American stars were copied by young women and men in Turkey. He wrote that:

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<sup>112</sup> " Karilerimizin Nazarı Dikkatine," *Holivut*, February 8, 1932, 6.

<sup>113</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 147-148.

<sup>114</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 159-160.

America considers itself as the order of the future's world. This might be a wrong feeling. But the truth is it has the most important power, and that is money. America which has the sixty percent of production in the world, with using the best propaganda agency in our time that is cinema, injects all these ideas to everyone. The most obvious example of that is the influence of various types of American cinema on youth in the world. While we are walking in the streets, you could recognize Greta Garbo, Clara Bow, Dolores Del Rio, Con Gilbert, Adolf Menjü, Douglas Fairbanks types. These young people not only copy their looks, but also the way they talk, they love, their mentality. If it goes on like this, one day people will be classified according to their types of Gilbert, Garbo, not their nationality.<sup>115</sup>

The writer pointed out that cinema had become a social issue and wanted to prove his thesis by informing the reader that Bessy Love's marriage news covered by *the Daily Express* as a main article for the first time in that newspaper's history. He added that cinema was a "need" of the society. Fa suggested that in changing conditions at that time, if Turkish society did not accept what "western thinking" suggested, this would be a lack of success and knowledge which would be harmful for the society.<sup>116</sup>

Like the *Holivut*'s writer's mentioning the uniting aspect of cinema, Atatürk who was a lover of cinema, stressed the globalizing factor in these words:

Cinema is the turning point of the future world. Cinema and radio which seems to be like a simple entertainment for us now, would change the world less than a quarter of a century. The woman in Japan would look like an American actress, the black man in the middle of Africa would understand what Eskimo would say.<sup>117</sup>

In Turkey, nudity was associated with American stars. In *Holivut*'s November 7, 1934 issue, in the article in the front page, entitled "Nudity in Cinema," A. Fuat wrote about Turkish women and men who got suntanned on the beaches of Florya, Altinkum, Suadiye. He stressed that swimming suits women wore did not cover their

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<sup>115</sup> Fa, "Bence Filmler Nasıl Tenkit Edilmelidir," *Holivut*, September 12, 1934, 3.

<sup>116</sup> Fa, "Bence Filmler Nasıl Tenkit Edilmelidir," *Holivut*, September 12, 1934, 3.

<sup>117</sup> Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu, *Nükte Yergi ve Fıkralarıyla Atatürk* (İstanbul : Aksoy, 2000), 34.

bodies, "they seemed more naked than dressed." He compared 1934 with other years and suggested that in 1934 there was a "double increase in the number of people who were bare-legged in the streets." Nudity scenes were high in cinema and he pointed out that Americans started first this fashion:

Isn't it strange that Americans were the first to show actress/actors naked on the screen in cinemas? First they made beach scenes, (in which actresses and actors wore) swimming suits. Then they quit and started to show screening people while bathing. And one day we watched Simon Serdan totally naked behind the frosted glass in the movie *Fire in the Opera house*.<sup>118</sup>

A. Fuat mentioned that Americans allowed scenes showing nipples and hips. He gave an example of a mistake made in a historical movie which showed Dolores Kantello wearing a bra of latest fashion in Noah's Ark. He added that the character which played Napoleon wore knickerbockers in the film Napoleon. He commented that those scenes which showed actors naked lasted short in a movie. A. Fuat mentioned that Ertuğrul Muhsin followed nudity fashion for the first time in Turkey in the movie *Sözde Kızlar* which included a minor character wearing slip.<sup>119</sup>

The number of Turkish women who wore swimming suits were high on beaches, however *Holivut Dünya Objektifi* went further by giving the example of Miami Beach in America. The article entitled "Woman Cop," indicated that women were able to handle, pursue jobs that were classified for men. Women cops started to wear swimming suits in Miami while they were at work because of the hot weather conditions. The magazine was curious about when women in İstanbul would follow this fashion and whether that would take place in Turkey. The news was supported with a picture of an American woman who was a cop, with captions "Americans are

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<sup>118</sup> "Sinemada Çıplaklık," *Holivut*, November 7, 1934, 3.

<sup>119</sup> "Sinemada Çıplaklık," *Holivut*, November 7, 1934, 3.

known as introducing new things into anything. Here are new women cops of Miami...beautiful but if it happens in Turkey, don't you think that number of accidents will increase?"<sup>120</sup> Perceived as a positive progress for women, still the consequences of women cops wearing swimming suits in Turkey was a question.

In *Cumhuriyet*, in the article entitled "Cinema and national propaganda: It is high time we think about this issue, too," while other nations using cinema as a national propaganda was discussed, what American movies meant from the Turkish perspective also could be seen. The writer of the article, A. H. mentioned that American movies were conveyed in a way to the audience that best qualities were associated with American types since American movies created "successful characters" when portraying American mariner, policeman, journalists, businessmen which led the audience think that "the strongest, the most good-hearted, the most virtuous people were American." A. H. gave "*Uçan Donanma*," "*Sema Devleri*" movies as examples of that.<sup>121</sup> In addition these stereotypes when a gun fight which happened between a group and police in Beyoğlu, it was likened to American police movies by *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper.<sup>122</sup> American adventure films were also popular in Turkey.

Interest about American culture was reflected in a reader's letter written to Dert Ortağı Section, entitled "Cow-boy Curiosity" in *Yıldız* magazine. The reader, eager to learn about cowboys was responded by the writer of the magazine in these words: "There is not a school to learn about cowboys. The word cowboy means shepherd in

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<sup>120</sup> "Kadın Polis," *Holivat Dünya Objektifi*, no.3 1935, 6.

<sup>121</sup> "Sinema ve Milli Propaganda Bizim için de bu Meseleyi Düşünmek Zamanı Geldi," *Cumhuriyet*, May 27, 1933, 5.

<sup>122</sup> "Zabıta Filmleri Gibi Çarpışma!" *Cumhuriyet*, September 4, 1935, 1, 8.

Turkish. In America, they speak American English." Another letter written to the magazine in the same issue entitled "Again Cowboys," showed the growing interest in cowboys as the writer responded to the letter of the reader: "We will talk about Cow Boy actors soon."<sup>123</sup> Hinkle suggested that in Turkey big film theatres started to have gramophones which played jazz and music from movies. People who were fascinated by music had time to listen those pieces during intervals from movies.<sup>124</sup>

Converting the word sex appeal, Cihat Muammer wrote the word sex appeal as "sex-apel" in the *Holivut*'s issue which is today used in Turkish as "seksapel." Muammer pointed out that the word was obtained from Hollywood, America, meaning "attractiveness." In the article, he suggested that in the past men gave importance to whether women were rich or not, but the 1930s marked a difference for him; he offered that men cared for attractiveness, and looked for that in women. Muammer emphasized that it was the cinema which shaped the meaning of attractiveness; women started to be perceived with the word "sex appeal" with their initiation.<sup>125</sup>

How Turkish cinema was influenced by American advertising tactics was the topic of *Cumhuriyet*'s article Hem Nalına Hem Mihnına of 8 March, 1933 issue. The writer of the article mentioned that there was a lot of gossip as well as news circulated through the press in America like "Greta Garbo loves John Gilbert... Clark Gable, madly in love with Lilian Harvey, is going to America for marrying her." The writer suggested that these were the tactics made up by advertising companies of "Holivut" in order to get attention of the fans, make sensation in the world. The writer

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<sup>123</sup> "Dert Ortağı," *Yıldız*, April 15, 1939, 40.

<sup>124</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 65-66.

<sup>125</sup> Cihat Muammer, "Sex-apel," *Holivut*, February 20, 1932, 8.

commented that "We are as talented as Americans but we just did not know it." He explained that the same advertising tactic was applied in the Turkish film *Fena Yol* by Turkish agencies because there were news about movie actress of the film being kidnapped by M. Papas, however it was set-up as M. Papas was later understood to be one of the actors playing in the movie. The writer suggested that these fake news made M. Papas widely known and esteemed in his own country, Greece. This tactic was called as "Amerikanvari," "American-esque," by the writer.<sup>126</sup>

In the front page of *Holivut*'s 27 July, 1934 issue, the writer using the nickname Holivutçu, after giving information about Kay Francis' marriages and breakups, and giving the latest news about her love life and mentioning Charles Boyes' marriage, complained about some Turkish writers' reactions to these kind of news, as according to the writer "those narrow minded writers" make a critique of "Hollywoodization" in Turkey. He mentioned that they used the word "Holivutlaşma" (Hollywoodization) and emphasized their recurring question "Does civilization mean this?" He criticized those writers' expectations in an ironic way saying that "what they expected from stars was like expecting the scientist Pastor to juggle." He defended that lives of stars helped people to empathize with their lives.<sup>127</sup>

There was even a joke about women's interest in cinema in the 15 August issue of 1932 *Cumhuriyet* in "Funny Jokes" section. In a conversation, a man expressed his anxiety to another man, "I'm afraid the winter is coming." When the other man asked the reason of it, his reply was "my wife's malady will occur again." The other man thought that the malady man referred to was rheumatism. However the other man

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<sup>126</sup> "Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Mükemmel Bir Reklam!" *Cumhuriyet*, March 8, 1933, 3.

<sup>127</sup> "Evlenenler," *Holivut*, June 25, 1934, 3.



responded that it was "cinema."<sup>128</sup> A caricature in the same newspaper depicted women's enthusiasm in cinema. In the caricature while a man and a woman were walking together, the man complained that there was no more electricity in the house due to the unpaid bills. However the woman responded him happily, saying "cinema season is coming so our eyes will accustom to darkness [easily.]"<sup>129</sup>

### 3.1. Conflict

In the article "Sinema Vecizeleri" of *Cumhuriyet*'s 29 January, 1930 issue, cinema's two aspect was stressed. Although it was as a popular entertainment form that caused "imitation" among young people, the writer suggested that people were ignorant of positive effects of it:

Nowadays, cinema is no more an imitation of life. Now, life imitates the movies. If you do not believe, just look at the young ladies and men...It contrasts with 20, 30 years ago. During those days there was the pantomime people played on the stage as if they were like a mute person, nowadays dreams on the screen are spoken... Ungrateful people cannot hide their nature in this topic also. In every social gathering, they talk about how cinema leads to demoralization. Educational, technical, scientific benefits of it are disregarded.<sup>130</sup>

The writer of *Yıldız* commented on young people's great interest about novels and cinema. For him, "they were like kittens" who desired to know everything. Because of their same nature, the writer mentioned that it would be wrong to blame them for their big interest for novels and cinema. The educational advantages of cinema were highlighted. For him a young person would be more interested in seeing

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<sup>128</sup> "Şen Fıkralar, " *Cumhuriyet*, August 15, 1932 , 5.

<sup>129</sup> "Mizah Sahifesi," *Cumhuriyet*, September 5, 1932, 5.

<sup>130</sup> "Sinema Vecizeleri," *Cumhuriyet*, January 29, 1930, 5.

the life of Marco Polo than reading about it. He would be able to learn "a Venetian travelling to the East for the first time" through cinema. He mentioned that history could be learned through it without "being bored to death" compared to reading. Young people's curiosity about stars' lives should be respected for the writer; naming it as "romanticism," the writer thought that they were beneficial as "it helped shaping their morality."<sup>131</sup>

Hollywood was the scapegoat for the changing habits in 1930s. In *Yedigün* newspaper's 1935 issue, a writer blamed cinema for the changes going on in the Turkish society. He considered cinema as a "disease," and hiding itself in "sugar" form while "poisoning" everyone. He stressed that cinema corrupted the young generation. For that, he suggested the term "sinomani alameti" "signs of cinemania," which showed its symptoms by "signs of evil" such as "young women's crossing their legs while smoking carelessly." He blamed cinema causing "young men's imagining to sail to Arctic with a small boat, leaving their families worried while drifting to barren islands." He continued his argument by relating Hollywood to a social disease:

The habit of using their toiletries and face powders, colouring their lips very slowly in boats, in the trains, is no doubt, a gift of Hollywood to our young women. It is not exaggerating to say that "cinemania" has contributed to maybe fifty percentage of nerve diseases and eighty percentage of (social) depressions today.<sup>132</sup>

In *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, in "the Gossip" column, a man's order to a cleaning lady get coffee for him at a very early hour in the morning was written, but the cleaning lady left the place after his request. Her leaving was due to many reasons;

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<sup>131</sup> "Dert Ortağı," *Yıldız*, April 15, 1939, 40-41.

<sup>132</sup> Gökhan Akçuara, *Ivır Zıvır Tarihi-Arşiv* (İstanbul : Om Yayınevi, 2002), 77.

"she knows dancing, manicure, cinema rumours and news, but she does not know how to cook."<sup>133</sup>

In 1933, in his report, Eugene M. Hinkle mentioned what the Minister of Public Instruction and the Minister of Public Hygiene thought about the movies effects on young people:

There is no doubt that, however, that the government represented by the Minister of Public Instruction and the Minister of Public Hygiene feels that the movies have a tremendous influence on the youth of the country, much of which is detrimental in giving false standards and ideals. The Minister of Public Instruction in expressing the above sentiments described the effect of the ordinary movie in Turkey as "pernicious."<sup>134</sup>

In 1937, Hollywood was targeted by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu in *Yeni Adam*'s issue. He criticized the film *Chandu Magic Island* which actually was a great success in Turkish cinemas, reaching 40.000 people in its first two weeks only in Alkazar cinema, in İstanbul. He suggested that this movie was a product of "American capitalists" and he blamed the movie as giving inaccurate information about religion:

What a strange contradiction, isn't it? This nation has destroyed the (Ottoman) Empire, abolished caliphate and pietism, abolished cult of saints and oblation, followed quite a secular way, but films of capitalists has brought to our nation ideas of the church, priest, magic, mystery, militarist vaccine...They can call these things as movies, giving no harm. I saw the film *Şandu* who could control an automobile without a driver who could disappear and call supernatural masters anytime he wished. After leaving the movie theatre, by chance I met a kid and a young men. I asked them what they thought about the movie. They said that the movie was very good. These kind of movies are as dangerous as a fanatic who makes a religious propaganda, a magician who casts spells, a spy who is a propagandist of a foreign state.<sup>135</sup>

In *Cumhuriyet*'s "Hem Nalına Hem Mihnâ Section," the writer blamed some movies because they included propaganda in their scripts. Although the name of the

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<sup>133</sup> "Dedikodu," *Cumhuriyet*, November 14, 1932, 5.

<sup>134</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 59.

<sup>135</sup> Abisel, *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar*, 18.

movie was not given by the author, he gave a last example of those type of movies which were shown in Beyoglu, İstanbul. The script was about a woman turning into a nun after her boyfriend's death in the war. But later, it was understood that her boyfriend did not die. His marriage proposal was rejected by the woman because of her commitment to the Church, "she was married to God." The boy was injured in the war and they came upon again in a hospital, and he died.<sup>136</sup> Although he did not mention the name of the movie, it could be understood from the content of script that it was *the White Sister* movie, an American romantic drama film, directed by Victor Fleming. Actors were Clark Gable and Helen Hayes. The writer criticized those movies because they promoted, "made propaganda of Christianity" and spoiled young women's mind putting ideas into their heads like "being a nun, making them alienated from life and marry God." He emphasized that those movies were much more harmful than religious propagandas made in schools. He was in favor of banishing these propagandist movies.<sup>137</sup>

Another criticism, even intervention to the screening of the movie which was American, took place in Kastamonu. Kissing scenes raised conflicts:

Constantinople, the Turkish metropolis, is tolerant of movies depicting Occidental life and morals, but the Anatolian provinces are frequently scandalized. This town was recently thrown into an uproar in the midst of the presentation of an American film. Following an amorous passage Hikmet Bey, commander of militia, burst into operator's booth, cuffed the operator and tore the film to shreds. He was cheered by the veiled women in the audience, but the younger generation howled for the picture to be continued.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> "Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Bir Propoganda Filmi," *Cumhuriyet*, February 6, 1934, 3.

<sup>137</sup> "Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Bir Propoganda Filmi," *Cumhuriyet*, February 6, 1934, 3.

<sup>138</sup> "American Love Movie Starts Fight in Turkish Theatre," *The New York Times*, February 17, 1929, 55.

The first page of *Holivut* 's June 1935 issue was titled as "The High School Kızı", (The High School girl), written by a journalist in *Holivut*. "My friend, who was a missionary, went to America, and she made love with someone. Now, she is in Hollywood." The girl whom the writer interviewed was willing to go to Hollywood like her friend. The writer assumed that this girl was imagining a colourful life in Hollywood, but as a person who had the chance to spend time in Hollywood, he commented that "bliss of love and adventure" was an illusion created by Hollywood. The writer of the magazine talked about how she knew this girl and told in the article that she attended Turkish and English schools in Turkey. Her beauty and her mysterious nature were emphasized. He made a distinction between what she learned from two different schools. From Turkish schools what she gained was knowledge according to the writer, whereas English schools contributed to her about what "High Life" was.

The writer was concerned about whether this girl was not able to make friends in İstanbul. While searching for the answers why she wanted to leave the city, he suggested that it was the English schools which put in her mind's ideas about England and America. "I understand that traces of English school in her soul is deep. It caused her to love horizons which smelled like smokes of England and America." He interpreted that they signified her happiness. The writer, in a blaming tone wrote that "the English school killed anything about Turkey in her compassionate heart, and put the idea of being a cinema star into her head." This life style chosen by her was reflected as a disadvantage for both the Turkish nation and missionary schools by the writer. He warned missionary schools about corrupting "beautiful" Turkish girls'

minds. He blamed them not only "killing the life joy" in them " but also "preventing them from what they want to follow." He also asked reader in a sarcastic tone whether they "want(ed) to be Korent Lais or a Sapho?" and concluded right after that in an again ironic way that "missionary schools spread this double happiness among our girls." <sup>139</sup>

Howland Shaw -who worked for American Embassy and served in Turkey for 12 years in his report, *Family Life in Modern Turkey* (1933) noticed "the battle of the old and new" in Turkey during this westernization process. He pointed out movies as one of the most important causes for the rising conflicts in Turkish families, because movies created dissatisfaction with the real life on the younger generation:

No less vivid than the unstable figure of the modern Turkish young man as presented herein, is the picture of the pretty modern young Turkish girl, who seems to be a recurrent influence for evil. Where else does she get her ideas of up-to-date clothes, spending money, dancing partners, and an easy life than from the widespread gospel of the movies? If the influence of motion pictures is over-estimated, it is only because of the frequent reference there to as an element in the dissatisfaction of the younger members of the family. <sup>140</sup>

Eugene M. Hinkle, referring to Shaw's work, said that "of these 44 family quarrels, 7 were due to in part or directly to the movies and one due entirely to the movies." Those conflicts took place in middle class families most. Hinkle listed family conflicts due to these reasons caused by the cinema in Shaw's report as: "Young wife seen coming out of a movie house with her lover," "movies a problem for a conservative father," "movie going and photos of stars hidden from the mother," "jazz music on phonographs taken from the movies or dance halls almost breaks up a home of father

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<sup>139</sup> "Bir High School Kızı," *Holivut*, June 5, 1935, 3.

<sup>140</sup> Rifat N. Bali (presented and annotated by) *US Diplomatic Documents on Turkey-III: Family Life In The Turkish Republic of the 1930's, A study by Howland Shaw*, (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2007), 11.

and son..."<sup>141</sup> Old generation were not in favour of changing habits of the young people.

### 3.2. Advertisements

In *Cumhuriyet*, in issue of 18 June 1932, there was an advertisement about Pasaj Karlman, which was on Beyoğlu Street in İstanbul. The ad included "big beach hats," stating that "the latest fashion hats cinema stars wore in *Holivut* and Miami were sold at 275 kuruş." There was also a men's section which announced that Panama hats were sold at 390 kuruş.<sup>142</sup> In *Holivut* magazine, one of the clothing stores in Galata was named "Türk Pazarı B. Frayman," meaning Turkish Bazaar B. Frayman.<sup>143</sup>

In *Holivut* magazine, American company "Columbia Records" advertisement was presented with this message; "a gift that would make everyone happy in new year." The advertisement reminded readers to also buy these names of records "Desdemo'a- Princessita- Santa Lucia Eva."<sup>144</sup>

Turkish brand Hasan Dantos Toothpaste ad covered the second page of *Holivut* magazine, with the picture of Hollywood star Marcell Chantell smiling in full page. The ad started with a warning. "Don't waste your money in vain." In the ad, it was suggested that Hasan Dantos products which consisted of toothpaste, toilet soap were

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<sup>141</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 168.

<sup>142</sup> "Pasaj Karlman," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 June, 1932, 6.

<sup>143</sup> *Holivut*, November 7, 1934, 7.

<sup>144</sup> *Holivut*, December 15, 1931, 26.

used in Hollywood as "they got famous in even *Holivut*."<sup>145</sup> Hasan eyeliner was presented with Joan Mars in a dress like swimsuit in another issue.<sup>146</sup> Radyolin toothpaste was also presented with a photograph of an actress showing her bare legs in the advertisement.<sup>147</sup>

M.G.M.'s star Anita Page's photograph was used in a Hacı Bekir Turkish Delight advertisement. Anita Page in the picture was dressed in an American flag, holding an American flag with a dog posing with a flag again. In the ad, Hacı Bekir Zade Ali Muhittin was reflected as "the inventor of the Eastern Confectionery." It was written that "While Suing gomü is famous in America, Hacı Bekir's candy is famous in Turkey."<sup>148</sup> Suing gomü was probably made up by the ad company in Turkey. Hacı Bekir candy ad with the same motto was in different issues of the magazine with different stars. Joan Crawford in a night dress, giving a sexy look in full page was titled with the Hacı Bekir motto.<sup>149</sup> Another ad Germaine products, which had an agency in İstanbul, mentioned Hollywood stars in launching its product with the slogan "face powder at the same time, Germaine creme and germaine glow are used by stars in Hollywood."<sup>150</sup>

Consumers were thought to be woman. Women not only participated in the labor force but also became potential "targets" of consumer culture. Motherhood and domesticity left its place to femininity which needed to be re-considered. Cinema contributed to

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<sup>145</sup> *Holivut*, July 4, 1931, 2.

<sup>146</sup> *Holivut*, January 20, 1932, 2.

<sup>147</sup> *Holivut*, November 1, 1931, 15.

<sup>148</sup> *Holivut*, July 18, 1931, 10.

<sup>149</sup> *Holivut*, September 1, 1931, 13.

<sup>150</sup> *Holivut*, July 18, 1931, 10.



the emergence of women in consumer culture. Women's liberalization found a new place to make it to public notice, showing their social and economic importance.<sup>151</sup>

In a shoe advertisement, a full page story of a Turkish woman dreaming to have the same shoe of the star she watched on the silver screen was published. In the ad, first the story of actress Lillian Harvey, written in the ad as "Liyan Hayt," and how she was interested in shoes was emphasized. According to the ad, "Liyan Hayt" was a regular customer of a shoe store in Berlin. Even details of "her having feet measured every week," "her having a personal shoemaker" were given. The advertisement continued with the story of a Turkish woman Muzaffer Hanım; the number of her apartment building, where she lived was mentioned. Only the name of the apartment was left with blanks. "Muzaffer Hanım who living in ....apartment block / number 3 at Şişli went to the movie *Hayatın Sonu*, starring Liyan Hayt and Villy Fur, with her friends in Gloria film theatre two weeks ago." The ad also mentioned of another woman called Selma, whose reason to watch the film was only seeing the shoes stars wore. Not only Lillian Hayt's variety of shoes she wore in the movies was mentioned but also Muzaffer Hanım's decision to have same shoes of Lillian Hayt was underlined. The ad suggested that she looked for a place in İstanbul to make the same shoes, but her attempts failed. In the advertisement, her story ended happily when she told her friend Selma as she directed her to go to "the biggest store which brought all the new models in the world." At the end, according to the ad, Turkish brand Mustafa Selami Tan shoe store was able to provide the same model Liyan Hayt wore.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Mariam Hansen, "Pleasure, Ambivalence, Identification: Valentino and female spectatorship," in *Stardom: Industry of Desire*, ed. Christine Gledhill (London: Routledge, 1991), 259-260.

<sup>152</sup> "Artistlerin Merakı," *Holivut*, September 1, 1931, 13.

Picture of Feriha Tevfik, who was a cinema star and Miss Turkey of 1929 was used in Tokalon creme's advertisement which was published in *Holivut* magazine. The product's motto implied that creme won the recognition of beautiful people.<sup>153</sup> In *Cumhuriyet's* 2 August 1935 issue, Tokalon creme's advertisement mentioned that women could have beautiful faces like stars by using Tokalon creme in "three days only."<sup>154</sup> In a different ad, Tokalon creme used a different motto "Wives Fight for Protecting Their Love," by giving example from a cinema star's quote. The cinema star implied that women need not fight with other women when they lose the interest of their husbands. The ad gave the message to the reader that men looking at other women was inevitable if the women did not take care of herself. "To make the skin rejuvenate," Tokalon creme was advised. Men would not be distracted by other women, and women would keep their love by using the creme, according to the ad.<sup>155</sup> Tokalon's face powder, in the same newspaper, was advertised through cinema stars.<sup>156</sup>

### 3.3. To be An Actress

Woman becoming an actress was a foreign concept in Turkey. From the early days of Turkish cinema, minorities especially "Armenians, Greeks, white Russians" were engaged in playing female roles in movies. Gülin Dönmez Colin suggested that

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<sup>153</sup> *Holivut*, December 15, 1931, 15.

<sup>154</sup> Tokalon ad., *Cumhuriyet*, August 2, 1935, 9.

<sup>155</sup> "Zevcinin Aşkını muhafaza için mücadele ediyor," *Cumhuriyet*, August 7, 1935, 10.

<sup>156</sup> "Buldum," *Cumhuriyet*, September 1, 1935, 11.

the first time Turkish women played in a movie took place in 1923 when Muhsin Ertuğrul wanted to adapt Halide Edip Adivar's book *The Shirt of Fire* (also known as *The Shirt of Flame*) into a movie. Halide Edip Adivar believed that in the movie no one could reflect the nationalist character better than Turkish women. Her desire led characters to be depicted by Turkish women after their husbands' approval. Bedia Muhavvit and Neyyire Neyir were the first Turkish women to play female roles in a Turkish movie.<sup>157</sup> Hinkle also pointed out that there was a lack of women stars in Turkey when compared to male actors. Only Feriha Tevfik, the beauty queen of Turkey was given as an example by him.<sup>158</sup>

In 1930s, this trend, which was a new concept for Turkish women was also encouraged with *Holivut* magazine's articles directing readers about how to be a cinema actress/actor. In the article, entitled "Do you want to be a cinema star," being an actress was defined as "being rich, famous, having so many qualities." In the article, how this process worked in the world was mentioned; many people applied for becoming an actress, and registered their photographs in the system, and directors were active in choosing the person who fit into actress type when they travelled. After mentioning American companies involvement in deciding who to be an actor, the magazine continued with a request; *Holivut* wanted readers-"especially beauties of İstanbul and Turkey"- to send their photographs to the magazine. The magazine also pointed out a photo studio, Foto Süreyya for people who wanted their photographs to be taken.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Gönül Dönmez Colin, *Women, Islam and Cinema*, (London:Reaktion Books, 2004), 93.

<sup>158</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 39.

<sup>159</sup> "Sinema Artisti Olmak İster Misiniz?" *Holivut* , September 15, 1931, 3.

The magazine elaborated on "Requirements for being an actor." There was an age limit, people who were twelve to sixty years old could apply. Being photogenic was another feature they looked for. Applicant's having an athletic body or exercising was also another qualifications they looked for. The person had to be able to reflect various states of mind like "funny, natural, tragic types."<sup>160</sup> In "Requirements for Actresses" *Holivut* wanted women readers to send a photograph of them in their swimming suits. They should also respond to the questions like whether they were interested in sports or not, whether they speak different languages.<sup>161</sup> Being slim, having big beautiful eyes were preferable in Hollywood, and *Holivut* also added that the applicant who had these qualifications would be more desirable.<sup>162</sup>

There was the desire of readers to become actresses as it could be understood from the responses of magazine to the letters. The movie fan magazine in response to Miss Elvan's letter wrote that they were looking for her photograph to send to American studios as Miss Elvan probably asked about that. Miss F.'s photograph, sent from İzmir, was also liked by the magazine.<sup>163</sup> In "The Section of Readers," a response to a letter in *Holivut* magazine directed female reader, Atiye to take her photograph in a studio. For acting, her age would not pose an obstacle.<sup>164</sup> The magazine emphasized that they received at least 30-40 letters every day, and they had difficulty in

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<sup>160</sup> "Artist Olmak İçin Şeriatımız," *Holivut*, October 1, 1931, 3.

<sup>161</sup> "Kadın Artistler Hakkında Şeriatımız," *Holivut*, November 1 1931, 3.

<sup>162</sup> "Artistlik hakkındaki şeriatimize yeni bir ilave," *Holivut*, November 10, 1931, 3.

<sup>163</sup> "Açık Muhabere," this issue's date is not clear in the magazine, but it is the issue after October 20, 1931 no. 9 so probably it belonged to the same year.

<sup>164</sup> "Karilerin Sütünü," *Holivut*, December 1, 1931, 11.

responding all the letters.<sup>165</sup> For people who wanted to be actors and actresses, *Holivut* magazine promised to publish their photographs.<sup>166</sup>

One could see that Turkish women wanted to learn about how to become actresses, and they needed guidance. The movie fan magazines served for this new concept. In *Holivut* magazine, a response letter written to Miss G. was:

For going to foreign countries and becoming an actress, first of all money is needed to cover expenses. Without being famous, foreign countries do not accept actresses and actors. However, if Hollywood and the studios in Elstre sees the potential in you, the capable type, then they might employ you. For application, you can apply to the manager of studio. If you want, we can send an application letter to any studio.

Leila Hyams by the way is not Turkish, she has Arab origins in her family.<sup>167</sup>

In another issue of *Holivut*, diagnosing the strong desire of people to become actresses and actors in Turkey in these words "as far as we see, our readers both women and men yearned for acting," the magazine advised readers to watch the movie *Le Masque d' Hollywood* starring Suzy Vernon, Rolla Norman and Helena Parly because the movie was about a young women's experiences in Hollywood. In order to be a star, the main character went to America, to Hollywood. In the movie what she went through in this process, how producers were like in Hollywood, how lives of the actresses were, how they became famous were told in an elaborated way according to the article.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> "Kari Sütünü," *Holivut*, November 10, 1931, 9.

<sup>166</sup> "Amatör Artistlerimize," *Holivut*, December 15, 1931, 18.

<sup>167</sup> "Kari Sütünü," *Holivut*, March 27, 1936, 17.

<sup>168</sup> "Hollywood'un İç Yüzü," *Holivut*, January 20, 1932, 12.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONSTRUCTION OF WOMEN IN THE MOVIE FAN MAGAZINES**

#### **4.1. Standards Of Beauty**

For the first time in Turkish history, a Turkish beauty contestant, Keriman Halis won the international beauty competition, receiving the title "Miss Universe" in 1932. The Turkish public was overjoyed with the news. According to *Cumhuriyet*, beauty had special meaning for Turkish society; it was considered as a "national" issue, and Keriman Halis' beauty represented the Turkish revolution."<sup>169</sup> Upon hearing the news, beauty pageant participant and winner Feriha Tefvik, whose nickname in Hollywood was "Turkish Greta Garbo,"<sup>170</sup> told *Cumhuriyet* that getting this title was "a national goal." She said: "Our goal was to make propaganda for the nation and womanhood." According to her, the Turkish Republic was struggling to represent

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<sup>169</sup> "Bütün Dünyaya heyecan veren "Spa" zaferi Nasıl Kazanıldı?" *Cumhuriyet*, August 7, 1932, 1.

<sup>170</sup> "Sinema Haberleri: Türk Yıldızları," *Cumhuriyet*, December 29, 1933, 5.

Turkish women to the world, desiring to show that they were capable of many things, and this victory proved that Turkey was successful in doing that.<sup>171</sup> This success was very important in terms of reflecting "Turkey's national image in the civilized world."<sup>172</sup>

Falih Rıfki Atay, who was a famous journalist and deputy in the parliament, wrote in *Cumhuriyet* about the 1932 "Beauty Pageant." He was uncomfortable about the stereotyping of Turks by other countries. He gave the example of an English priest who in 1925 thought Turks looked like "as black as his trousers," while an American politician told him that he could not believe Turks could have fair skin and eyes until he met with Falih Rıfki Atay. There was a negative image of Turks. Therefore, in a white man's world, the success won by Keriman Halis provided Turkey with more positive image. He commented that this event signified also the importance of sports and healthiness for beauty, and which Turkish young women and men should could use it as a model.

From his view, it was understandable that diets had become popular among young women and men. Being slimmer had started to be associated with being beautiful in the public. He was against this trend. Atay said that diets changed young women and men in a negative way, by making them aggressive. He emphasized that beauty did not mean being thin or wearing makeup, even though fashion set these norms. In addition to being healthy and athletic, Atay defined beauty as being "cheerful and peaceful." He suggested that the State support beauty through health and

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<sup>171</sup> Eski Kraliçeler ve Dünya Güzelleri: Feriha Tefvik H., nihayet milli gayeye eriştik, diyor," *Cumhuriyet*, August 4, 1932, 1, 4.

<sup>172</sup> A. Holly Shissler, "Beauty is Nothing to Be Ashamed of : Beauty Contests As Tools of Women's Liberation in Early Republican Turkey," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 24:1 (2004), 112.

sports in order to "develop morals and character;" Atatürk's encouraging people into sports was reasonable for him because health, sports, culture were connected with each other, and they could not be separated.<sup>173</sup>

Different opinions about the concept of beauty flourished in Turkey during the 1930s. Cinema-style make-up applied by Turkish women was not favoured by the famous painter, Ali Sami Boyar. Those women who put on cinema make-up were pathetic to him. He preferred healthy looking women, but make-up should be avoided by them. Women who were mothers and loved their families reflected the ideal type of women for him. Their having education was also important. He did not favour female nudity.<sup>174</sup>

For Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, a famous novelist, of the time, as long as women did not exaggerate, having make-up or being make-up-free did not matter.<sup>175</sup> For Bedia Muavvit, first Turkish female actor, women without make-up were beautiful, but she added that make-up had become the fashion, and so she applied make-up at work.<sup>176</sup> For Feriha Tevfik, the Turkish beauty queen, make-up would not turn ugly women into beautiful ones. According to Tevfik, Keriman Halis, Turkish Miss Universe was naturally beautiful.<sup>177</sup> She favoured natural beauty in women.

In Turkey, in the 1930s, the belief that beautiful people could make a career in cinema was common. *Cumhuriyet* encouraged women to send their photos for beauty contests. Readers were reminded that they could be cinema stars as well as Beauty

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<sup>173</sup> "Güzellik Müsabakası," *Cumhuriyet*, August 10, 1932, 3.

<sup>174</sup> Cevat Fehmi Başkut, "Ressam Ali Sami B.'ye Göre Kadınlar Boyanmamalı," *Cumhuriyet*, November 11, 1931, 1, 5.

<sup>175</sup> Cevat Fehmi Başkut, "Halit Ziya Bey'e Göre Güzel Kadın Kime Derler?" *Cumhuriyet*, November 9, 1931, 1, 3.

<sup>176</sup> Cevat Fehmi Başkut, "Bedia Hanıma Göre Güzel Erkek ve Kadın!" *Cumhuriyet*, November 18, 1931

<sup>177</sup> "Eski Kraliçeler ve Dünya Güzelleri: Feriha Tevfik H., Nihayet milli gayeye eriştik, diyor.," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 August 1932, 4



Queens of Turkey. Entitled "Beauty Queens: Beauties You Could Be Also Cinema Stars If You Want," a Turkish woman Meliha Röne Dünen, was given as an example of a woman who had applied to the newspaper for the Beauty Contest. Her photograph was published by the newspaper. It was announced that if the applicant had the qualifications to become an actress, and won the contest, she would be invited to Hollywood because Metro Goldwin Mayer's agent in Turkey, answering the newspaper's question on that topic, promised that the winner of the contest had a chance to go to Hollywood.<sup>178</sup> Two days later, in the same newspaper, this news was repeated and the chance of women becoming actresses in Hollywood was stressed again in an article featuring the photograph of Meliha Röne Dünen.<sup>179</sup> On December 30, readers were reminded of the announcement in an article with Feriha Hakkı's photograph. Metro Goldwyn's representative, Henri Habip's letter was published in the newspaper in the same column. The letter, written to the journalist and founder of *Cumhuriyet* Yunus Nadi Abalıoğlu, confirmed the newspapers' request for the beauty queen to get an invitation from Hollywood to become an actress. It was accepted as long as "she had the qualifications for that."<sup>180</sup> It was not surprising that being beautiful and having a career in cinema were parallel with each other in Turkey.

In Eugene M. Hinkle's report, a 18 year old Turkish girl from İstanbul stated in an interview that she read *Holivut* regularly, and she never missed buying new issues of the magazine. She desired to be an actress, but she found that she lacked the qualifications for being a cinema star. She expressed her desire to have the same

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<sup>178</sup> *Cumhuriyet*, "Güzellik Kraliçeleri: Güzeller İsterseniz Sinema Yıldızı da Olabilirsiniz," December 27, 1930, 1.

<sup>179</sup> *Cumhuriyet*, "Güzelere Yeni Bir Şere Ufku Daha Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, December 29, 1930, 1.

<sup>180</sup> "Güzeller Balosu 15-20 Gün Sonra Veriliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, December 30, 1930, 1.

outfits of stars, but as they cost a lot, it was impossible for her to buy them. She added: "the movies dissatisfy me [sic] a good deal with my present life for I desire a life of love and passion."<sup>181</sup> This girl went to the movies regularly and movies created a discontent with her real life as Hinkle suggested. Stars functioned as role models in movies, and the Turkish press in offering in depiction of the lives of stars what they wore, what they used, how they behaved, made this image more powerful in their minds. Peyami Sefa's novel *Sinema Delisi Kız* which was first published in *Cumhuriyet* as a story section depicted young women's obsession with cinema stars. Her strong interest in cinema caused conflicts in her family. In one section, the protagonist of the novel, in order to learn cinema star's current residence, looked for that information in *Holivut* magazine. She thought that she would learn by checking that information in *Holivut*. Hinkle also mentioned that movie fan magazines were important for the young generation- they read them a lot.

What did these movie fan magazines offer? What discourse did they produce for women readers? As movies and fan movie magazines worked both to produce an image of women, the kind of women image the movie fan magazines represented was crucial. As there were very few Turkish actresses, it was American stars who filled that empty space in these movie fan magazines for Turkish women.

#### **4.1. The Movie Fan Magazines**

Historian Anthony Slide suggested that fan magazines reflected the transformation of American society. Like Hollywood, it offered Americans a rupture

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<sup>181</sup> Bali, *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey- II*, 158-159.

from the real world. Men were not big fans of the fan magazines compared to women although they enjoyed pictures of the half-naked stars. The fan magazines seemed not to care about the social status of the reader. In the 1910s although readers were mostly composed of women, the fan magazines were also read by other family members. The fan magazines were not limited to images of the screen, they analyzed lives of stars and were able to depict the personality of stars, their manners, details about their love lives and their relations. Although fan magazines included gossip about stars, they were not reduced to the level of yellow journalism; they had quality. Besides movies, the American public cared about what fan magazines portrayed.<sup>182</sup> In America the movie fan magazines were written by mostly female authors.<sup>183</sup> It is harder to make that generalization for Turkey, because male writers were influential in the press; they dominated much space and their names frequently appeared in the movie fan magazines.

The studios were in contact with fan magazines; they provided detailed information to the movie fan magazines. When the newspapers were curious about lives of stars in 1930s and published stories, studios were still close in their relation with the movie fan magazines and continued their communication with them. Stories of the fan magazines were also monitored by studios in 1930s.<sup>184</sup>

Slide emphasized that MGM intervened with the news regarding about stars' becoming parents in the fan magazines, because they were afraid that these "might hurt the romantic image" among readers. For example news about Norma Shearer being a mother and Robert Montgomery being a father seemed as inappropriate for

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<sup>182</sup> Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine*, 4-6.

<sup>183</sup> Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine*, 5

<sup>184</sup> Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine*, 8.

publishing in the fan magazines. News about "children" were subjected to restriction. The studios also controlled news about the "pregnancy and sex activities" of stars. They were generally absent in the fan magazines due to the direction of studios.<sup>185</sup>

In Turkey, in contrast to the Republican State's promotion of motherhood, the movie fan magazines' avoidance of parenthood, motherhood is of crucial importance. What Atatürk's regime expected from women was to raise the next generation, to be good mothers while they were encouraged to participate in daily activities. The movie fan magazines, on the other hand, portraying stars without families and focusing on them as individuals, were what young women read in Turkey. This might have given the unconscious message to the reader that having children was not the ultimate goal of stars. As stars became role models of young women in Turkey, the lack of news about parenting was opposite to the ideal woman image that the leading Republican Turks drew with regard to motherhood.

In *Holivut İstanbul Magazin's* 1937 issue, this problem was at the top of the agenda. Movies which discouraged women towards motherhood should not be allowed according to the magazine, because they would be conflicting with Turkish cultural norms. In addition to this, they corrupted morality because of their great potential to influence young women. It was emphasized that those kind of movies would destroy "family happiness" and would lead to much worse results in small towns than in cities in Turkey. The government should take action in banning those movies damaging motherhood as well as those that encouraged people to go on

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<sup>185</sup> Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine*, 8.

reckless adventures. What Turkey needed most was "family happiness" according to the magazine.<sup>186</sup>

According to the law governing press (1931) in Turkey, anything that could damage the concept of family life was not appropriate. The law stated that people, who promoted article that were against family values, could end up in prison. *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, reminding the readers of this law, in one of its issues (1937), pointed out that if these laws were applied to movies, many movies would be negatively affected because there were a lot of movies which spoiled the concept of motherhood, and promoted secret love affairs during marriages. The writer asked this question "Do movies cause young women to have a desire for motherhood?" The writer responded that they did not encourage women to want to be mothers. Movies ended up with characters' cheating, and deceiving in the scripts. According to the writer, cinema not only caused the audience to imitate the characters shown in the movies, but also led them to start new lives, abandoning their families. A movie, in which a young woman was kidnapped by a bandit and was forced to love him, was given as an example for negatively promoting adventures. The audience, according to the writer, supported the bandit while he tried to escape from the government. Besides secret love affairs, movies promoted young people to adventurous lives.<sup>187</sup> Turkish fan magazines were unaware that through lives of stars they did not promote motherhood news as Slide said that studios controlled this kind of news in order to control the star image in movie fan magazines. Turkish fan movie magazine *Holivut* took *Photoplay* as a role model, and it was influenced by studio control indirectly. Rather than

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<sup>186</sup> "Neşriyatımızın ve Hükümetimizin Aldığı Tedbir," *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, February 11, 1937, 3-4.

<sup>187</sup> "Filmlerin Menfi Tesirleri," *Holivut, İstanbul Magazin*, February 4, 1937, 3-4.

marriage news, stress on divorce news could be seen in issues of the movie fan magazines. They represented Hollywood as a place where the actors and actresses broke the record of divorce. Joan Blondell was an example of this news which was published in *Yıldız* magazine. The writer of the article Mecdi Önen emphasized that both Joan Blondell and her husband Dick Powell had many love affairs before they got married. Her previous husband Georges Barnes, before getting married to Blondell, got divorced seven times.<sup>188</sup>

It was also the movie fan magazines in Turkey unconsciously educated readers not in parenting but in flirting. With Gary Cooper and Sigrid Gruie's photographs from a movie, kissing was presented stage by stage. Under the photograph, the caption was "First Kiss." "It is the first lesson what Marco Polo (played by Gary Cooper) teaches the princess (played by Sigrid Gruie.)" <sup>189</sup>

*Holivut* magazine dictated how their love relations should be through American stars, tried to teach flirting to readers in the article, as was demonstrated in the article, "How Should an Ideal Couple Be?" The fan magazine advised readers to practice American actress Kay Francis' advice if they had failures in their love relations. Kay Francis told readers that in the past times, women, being shy, expected men to ask them to go out, and to dance with them. She wrote, however, that today women should take an active role in their relations with men. If they started to like each other, they should be careful of what they talk about in their conversations according to Kay Francis. Aloof women would not be preferred by men. She

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<sup>188</sup> Mecdi Önen, "Evlenme, Boşanan Kadın," *Yıldız*, January 1, 1939. The number of the page was not included .

<sup>189</sup> "İlk Puse," *Yıldız*, November 15, 1938. There is typographical error of the magazine in usage of the word Buse. In addition to this, the number of the page was not clear.

mentioned that women should keep personal details about their lives to themselves, but their conversation topics should deal with "cinema, sports, entertainment." Women should "appear cheerful," confident, and social. Yet, there needed to be a limit in their intimacy; "she should not take a man's arm immediately." Taking their coats was necessary for women when they went out with men according to Francis, because whining about getting cold would tire anyone. Women should also "avoid flamboyant clothes in their choices."<sup>190</sup> She emphasized that remaining optimistic, and "cheerful" was important in undesirable conditions like bad weather. In addition to this, women should be energetic; they should not reject men when they offered go out for a walk with them. Women also should not prefer "ostentatious places" in their choices, expecting men to pay in those places would be not desirable. In their conversations, talking about their past lovers was not appropriate, and Kay Francis did not recommend women to do that.<sup>191</sup>

Women looked for these kind of directions and advice. They did not know how to behave in their love relations, and they needed recommendations. In *Yıldız*'s section "Dert Ortağı," a response written to a female reader, Enise from Ankara, showed that women needed advise in their love affairs, and they looked for the answers in movie fan magazines. The reader Enise, probably loved a boy platonically. She did not know whether it was mutual, whether the boy also had feelings for her. The writer of "Dert Ortağı," advised Enise that she should share her romantic feelings with him and talk to him although it was "a difficult action for a girl." Another option was "waiting"

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<sup>190</sup> "İdeal Bir Çift Nasıl Olmalı?" *Holivut*, August 15, 1934, 3.

<sup>191</sup> "İdeal Bir Çift Nasıl Olmalı?" *Holivut*, August 15, 1934, 13.

according to the writer. He would reveal his feelings in the end. If he did not, she should look for happiness somewhere else.<sup>192</sup>

In the book *American Beauty*, historian Lois W. Banner stressed that many female cinema stars of 1930s such as Katharine Hepburn, Joan Crawford were independent, confident, strong characters. Looking younger was not the aim, in the 1930s, stars reflected the ideal for women by being more mature, self-sufficient, and capable of in their many different skills.<sup>193</sup> They entered into male working spaces and wore male clothing in daily life. They were "career girls" and they led the society to attribute a more positive image to working women.<sup>194</sup>

*Holivut* published the article of American actress Ann Dvorak, entitled "American Women" with pictures of Katharine Hepburn, Phyllis Brooks, Jane Hamilton fencing with their coach. In the article, Ann Dvorak mentioned that it was not man's world anymore. In Hollywood, it was women who had power to direct or determine decisions in many topics. She emphasized that women earned their own money. Women learning and having work experience was essential for the writer. At home, women had the control too; she directed her husband according to the Dvorak. She recommended that women should be moderate and supportive in their relationships with men and care for his happiness.<sup>195</sup>

Besides movie sets, Marlene Dietrich walking in the streets in man clothes was the new trend according to the writer of *Cumhuriyet*, informing Turkish readers of this

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<sup>192</sup> "Dert Ortağı," *Yıldız*, March 15, 1939, 46.

<sup>193</sup> Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1984), 283, 281.

<sup>194</sup> Sarah Berry, *Screen Style: Fashion and Femininity in 1930s Hollywood* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 2000), 14.

<sup>195</sup> "Amerikan Kadınları," *Holivut*, January 31, 1936, 8-9.



trend in the article, entitled "More and More We Become Mannish."<sup>196</sup> Greta Garbo's wearing man clothes in her daily life was also mentioned in another issue.<sup>197</sup>

Elaine Tyler May in her book *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* suggested that it was in the 1930s that there was a shift in the women image, presented by women actresses; women cinema stars represented "strong, autonomous, competent and career oriented" images. They were depicted as "ambitious and individualistic" in the fan magazines. They were self-sustained, earning their own money; unlike in the past, "they were the breadwinners." They made the "independent," "single women" image praised by the public in 1930s. They focused on career, not their marriages. What they offered was being women rather than wives.<sup>198</sup>

It was not surprising that *Holivut* published articles like Carole Lombard's who was criticizing women for paying little attention to their work lives and focused on their husbands after they got married. She suggested that it was better for them pursue their own goals also.

*Holivut* magazine made it clear in another article, entitled "Requirements for Women Actors," that the first requirements were "feeling free and never being lazy." Laziness, it was stressed, was to be avoided, or else "all the plans would be in vain." The myth of success that Americans could achieve anything through hard work regardless of their birth status, was demonstrated through the star system.<sup>199</sup> The Turkish press constant reminding reader of the importance of hard work while giving

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<sup>196</sup> "Avrupa'da Kadın: Gitgide Erkekleşiyoruz," *Cumhuriyet*, March 19, 1933, 5.

<sup>197</sup> "Greta Garbo Yolda," *Cumhuriyet*, April 22, 1933, 5.

<sup>198</sup> May, Elaine Tyler, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 44-45.

<sup>199</sup> Richard Dyer, *Stars* (London : BFI Pub., 1998), 42.

biographical information through stars demonstrated the same pattern. That anyone could be a star message was also communicated through from the daily activities of stars.

In the article "A Day At Work: They Work for 9 Hours A day," giving example from Greta Garbo, it was suggested that "luck and talent" was not enough to keep your position. Readers were reminded that being successful required long working days:

An actor spends her day mostly like this: She wakes up at 7 o'clock. She goes to the studio at 8 a.m. Until 9 a.m. preparation and make-up go on. From 9 a.m. to 12.00, she works. Then 2 hours for rest and eating. Until 5 p.m. she works again. Then she responds to the letters that she received, she spends her time with dress rehearsals, and then listens to the translated comments written about her from all over the world. If she can be at home at 7 p.m. how happy for her! It also means that she does not have much time left for her personal life. During this time she is obliged to make research about her art and read books about it.<sup>200</sup>

In *Cumhuriyet*, American actress Irene Dunne emphasized that actors were industrious.<sup>201</sup>

## 4.2. To Be Beautiful

In "Amerika Mektupları," in *Holivut* magazine, beauty was defined as "duty" for women. "To be beautiful, at least to seem beautiful is duty of Woman," was the message of the article. Women were expected to look beautiful, and the magazine stated that women needed to work for that. As a role model, Norma Shearer's advice was given, reminding the reader that "*Holivut*, in every week, will give you the

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<sup>200</sup> "Bir Günlük Meşguliyet," *Cumhuriyet*, February 7, 1930, 5.

<sup>201</sup> "Aşk mı Kuvvetli San'at mı?" *Cumhuriyet*, November 7, 1934, 7.

remedy of this through actors." For skin beauty, instructions were given such as never applying alcohol to skin, but instead using homemade crèmes like mixing substances such as rose water, almond oil, and extract of whale meat. What men would prefer in women also was underlined by the magazine. "Men would hate excessive facial flush in women." After marriage, women's taking care of themselves, maintaining well-groomed look was very important to keep the interest of their husbands, and "messy hair, torn blouses" should be avoided according to Norma Shearer. Norma Shearer pointed to Joan Crawford as someone who followed instructions and who lived a happy life for these reasons.<sup>202</sup>

Hollywood was defined as "a magician who changes faces of people." Being beautiful not only required intelligence but also necessitated a strong desire to be beautiful, according to *Holivut* magazine. A person should want to be beautiful; it was possible to be beautiful with changes. Hollywood was likened to metaphorically to "the monster in shores of California" that assimilated faces into style of its own. The writer of the article elaborated the idea that Hollywood changed physical appearances of people in a positive way. It took no more than three months to alter women in a way that made it harder to recognize them compared to their earlier looks. Hollywood transformed women in both character and style. Like in Hollywood, the magazine wanted their readers to change their hair into opposite colour of their own. "Are you brunette? Dye your hair blonde. Are you blonde, be brunette. If you don't like your lips or nose, change them!" The magazine pointed out Hollywood demonstrated that beauty was a concept that could be achieved. "The Hollywood monster" transformed Anna Stern with make-up, and taught her English. The magazine found Marlene

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<sup>202</sup> "Amerika Mektupları," *Holivut*, April 10, 1932, 4.

Dietrich ugly without the transformations inspired by Hollywood. It was Hollywood that taught her how to bring out her cheekbones and make her seem beautiful by changing her eyebrows, applying false eyelashes. It was suggested that her flaws were corrected with make-up tricks. The "Hollywood monster" even changed her legs, she became slimmer. According to the article, before Garbo came to Hollywood, she was a girl with freckles. Hollywood created her mysterious image. Her freckled face was gone, and Hollywood even altered her walking style. Dietrich's and Greta Garbo's before and after Hollywood pictures were also presented.<sup>203</sup>

"For people who admired the beauty of cinema stars," *Holivut* magazine provided a list of what to eat to be beautiful- like cinema stars who "look like 20 year old women"- in the article entitled "Menu of A Beautiful Woman" in its issue with pictures of actresses of United Artists. In addition to eating fruits and drinking beverages, the menu, which the magazine urged its readers to follow the menu included soup, salad, roasted meat and vegetables. *Holivut* recommended women to eat nothing but only dried fruits for two days, mentioning that American women followed these trends in their lives. Also drinking wine every day was the advice of magazine to its readers.<sup>204</sup> The magazine also published the advertisement of Hulki Ismail Effervesan's medical pill that helped to lose weight and become slimmer "without any damages."<sup>205</sup>

Cihat Kentmen in his article "Beauty: What do Women Need To Be Beautiful?" suggested a combination of the "ideal Venus type" through American actresses. It was composed of "Gloria Swanson's feet and wrists, Karen Morley's

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<sup>203</sup> "İnsanların Yüzünü Değiştiren Bir Sihirbazdır," *Holivut*, September 5, 1934,8-10.

<sup>204</sup> N. J. "Güzel Bir Kadının Yemekleri," *Holivut*, November 7, 1934, 6.

<sup>205</sup> *Holivut*, December 15, 1931, 17.

hands and arms, Ann Dvorak's back, Gertrude Michael's and Joan Blondell's calves." He presented them as "models" for readers. Each section of body were analyzed under the categories above. Kentmen, under the section "Gloria Swanson's feet and wrists" not only dictated beauty forms, but also gave beauty tips for women for their feet and wrists. "Feet should be round and thin, toes should be proportional." Uncomfortable shoes were not recommended by Kentmen, reasoning that they would make women's feet worse. Special treatments like "rubbing feet with cold water before wearing socks" and "walking in barefoot" were recommended.<sup>206</sup>

Cihat Kentmen, in another article "Ideal Women in 1935," suggested that Hollywood constructed the "ideal women type." He informed that old beauty types were replaced with Hollywood's creations. He likened Hollywood to a "factory of beautiful girl" which set specific beauty types. After giving body sizes of 1935 in detailed numbers, Kentmen pointed out Jean Harlow and Joan Crawford had ideal body sizes. The page contained the detailed description of their body sizes; their heights, waistline sizes, ratios of hips and breasts. Kentmen wrote that *Holivut* magazine served as a "guide" to readers about beauty topic.<sup>207</sup>

In *Cumhuriyet's* "Hem Nalına Hem Mihnına" section, entitled "Cubic Eyebrows," the writer discussed how eyebrows changed with cinema stars. Unlike thick eyebrows of the past, women used thin eyebrows because it spread from Hollywood to everywhere. Cubic eyebrows, which were more angled and triangular, became popular according to him.<sup>208</sup> In *Holivut*, Hikmet Münir also emphasized that

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<sup>206</sup> Cihat Kentmen, "Güzellik: Güzel Olmak İçin Bir Kadına Neler Lazımdır?" *Holivut*, May 22, 1935, 8-9.

<sup>207</sup> Cihat Kentmen, "1935'de İdeal Kadın," *Holivut*, May 15, 1935, 8.

<sup>208</sup> "Hem Nalına Hem Mihnına: Kübik Kaşlar," *Cumhuriyet*, May 23, 1932, 3.

usage of tweezers in Turkey increased as women wanted to copy cinema stars' eyebrows, in the article entitled "The Reason of the Missing Eyebrows is due to Cinema Stars." Mae West was given as a role model. Münir mentioned that tweezers were so popular that were sold even in the Tunnel in İstanbul.<sup>209</sup>

*Yıldız* wrote that the popular saying "if someone wants something strongly, s/he can succeed definitely" could be interpreted as "if someone wants it strongly, s/he can be beautiful and pretty in America." As proof, the magazine provided pictures of Hollywood star Gloria Dickson with directions, reminding the reader that she worked as a cleaning person like Joan Crawford in the past. In pictures, she showed what beauty treatments she used.

C. Cahit, the writer of the article "Stars' Lips" in *Yıldız* provided nine types of lip shapes by photos of actresses which consisted of Greta Garbo, Norma Shearer, Joan Crawford, Madge Ewans, Claudette Corbert, Dolores Del Rio, Myrna Loy, Jeanette MacDonald, Marlene Dietrich. Cahit first wanted female readers to find out whether their face shapes were oval, rectangular, oblong, or round. After that, he recommended them to shape their lips and wear lipstick by choosing the best type by using cinema actresses as models. If the reader had an oval face, she could colour her lips like Greta Garbo's. In that type, upper lip should be lighter than the lower lip in colour in that style. Jeannette MacDonald's lips were suggested for women who have small faces. They should perform Jeannette MacDonald's lip type for a better look.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Hikmet Münir, "Sinema Yıldızının Ardından Giden Kaşlar," *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, February 18, 1937, 5-6. The name of the magazine was published as *Holivut İstanbul Magazin* in the cover. But in the page where the information about the date and publisher were given, the name of the magazine was written as "Mağazin." There was a typographical error as the correct form of the word is *Magazin* in Turkish.

<sup>210</sup> C. Cahit, "Yıldızların Dudakları," *Yıldız*, February 15, 1939.

In *Yıldız* magazine, four different hair styles were presented for Ginger Rogers. The writer Meliha Avni advised *Holivut* 's readers to find out the best style among different options like Ginger Rogers did. Her clothing style in *Top Hat* and *Follow the Fleet* movies were given as examples for readers. Avni wrote "as far as we observe, American stars have become leading figures we follow in fashion."<sup>211</sup>

#### 4.3. Sports

The movie fan magazines *Holivut* and *Yıldız* encouraged their readers to pursue sports. In *Holivut* magazine informed readers about "the 1932 Olympics and the Hollywood Olympics" and wanted young people to be interested in sports news. The article informed readers that there would be an additional Hollywood Olympics for actors and actresses. They would be separated according to their gender and compete with each other.<sup>212</sup>

In another issue, "To Endear Sports to Our Youth" the magazine suggested that sports films which were produced in America and Hollywood should be brought to Turkey in order to make young people love sports. The magazine suggested that young people could be attracted to sports by seeing actors and actresses doing the

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<sup>211</sup> Meliha Avni, "Yeni Saç Modaları: Bir Holivut Berberinin Ginger Roger[s] İçin Yarattığı Dört Kuvafür [kuaför] Acaba hangisini Tercih Edecek?" *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, September 17, 1936, 20-21.

<sup>212</sup> "1932 Olimpiyadı ve *Holivut* Olimpiyadı," *Holivut*, January 10, 1932, 3.

sports activities. "American Sport" could be also learned through according to the magazine.<sup>213</sup>

In *Holivut* magazine, the article "Beauty is Acquired Through Sports" suggested that beauty was a concept that could be achieved by doing sports and being clean. "We should perceive Sports as a Duty" was the message of the article, presented with photographs of Cecilia Parker riding a bike and Jean Parker in a swimsuit. The writer criticized Turkish women for their physical appearances.

Look at European and most particularly American women. Their bodies are slim and proportional. This proportionality even exists in their fat ones. Our women are mostly Mae Wests. If you pay attention to women who are naturally fat and doing sports, you would see a different kind of beauty in them. But also look at the ones who don't do sports. Our girls, who are not even 20 years old, look like 25 and 30 years old and looking like they had many children.<sup>214</sup>

The writer of the article also criticized women for doing sports a little and sleeping and overeating a lot after their exercises. Activities like playing tennis and walking in order to achieve a beautiful body were recommended. In the article, it was emphasized that cinema stars always did sports. Jean Harlow, Joan Crawford, Mae Clarke went cycling regularly in groups while Clark Gable, Cary Grant, Gary Cooper went for walking as an exercise. The writer expressed his discontent about Turkish girls being passive in activities after giving examples from Jean Harlow, Joan Crawford, etc. Readers were informed about other popular sports among cinema stars such as horse riding and hunting.<sup>215</sup>

Cihat Kentmen repeated the importance of sports in the article "Beauty and Sports" addressing American cinema stars. He claimed that American stars had

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<sup>213</sup>"Gençlik: Gençlerimize Sporu Sevdirmek İçin," *Holivut*, March 10, 1932, 6.

<sup>214</sup>"Güzellik Spor ile Elde Edilir," *Holivut*, May 22, 1935, 8-9.

<sup>215</sup>"Güzellik Spor ile Elde Edilir," *Holivut*, May 22, 1935, 8-9.



beautiful bodies because of sports, and added that in America people perceived beauty and sports connected with each other. He criticized Turkish women for not including sports in their lives. He mentioned that American stars were healthy and beautiful because they did sports and went on diets. He wrote that in Turkey, most people perceived beauty as a gift from God, and he criticized the fact that it was a natural concept for them. Kentmen insisted that beauty was a concept which could be achieved by one's efforts and actions.<sup>216</sup>

*Holivut* magazine not only directed readers to do sports, but also published advertisement of a sports store in its issues. The motto of Milli Sports Zeki Sıra was "Buy your sport accessories from Milli Spor Zeki Sıra," it included the telephone number of the store.<sup>217</sup>

Losing weight with different techniques were introduced to readers through fan magazines. Hollywood was presented to find new methods in shaping body. Massage was one of these methods to have a slimmer, more beautiful body. Through story of Linda Yale, the magazine promoted massage to readers. American director Arthur Hornblow had not liked the physical appearance of Linda Yale; he did not believe she could have a beautiful body again, but she lost weight after she met with famous American masseur Jim Davies. There were detailed photographs of her which included detailed information about her body size before and after the massage treatments. Besides massage, she did exercises. One of the photo caption made it clear, "You see belly size of her in inch measure. If you convert into centimeters, her bell

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<sup>216</sup> "Güzellik ve Spor," *Holivut*, January 10, 1936, 7.

<sup>217</sup> Ad. *Holivut*, November 10, 1931, 14.

size was 73,7 centimetres. It is scary, isn't it? Without any diets, she got a flat stomach and now her size is 69,9 centimetres."<sup>218</sup>

In 1930s, stars participated in creating the idealized image of women in the society. From the letters written to *Yıldız*, one can understand from the responses that Turkish women, started to worry about their own bodily shapes and sizes. They expected help from the writers in the fan magazines. Sevda who lived in Trabzon was one of them. Probably she was not happy with her body because she thought that she was very fat. In the response letter written to Sevda, the writer suggested to her not to worry about her appearance and wanted Sevda to write about her body size in her next letter, because she did not believe that she could be as fat as she imagined. Losing weight quickly was not recommended; the writer wanted her to avoid pastry, rice and follow a low-fat diet which included vegetables and fruits. From the response, one can conclude that Sevda also complained about her family because her parents forced her to eat. However, this was not a bad thing for the writer:

The fact that your parents insist on you eating is for your own good. They would not insist if they thought that you are fat or have a disease. I repeat. Write me about your body size, weight. Then I will be able to tell you about in which stage of fatness you are and will inform you about what you should follow as a treatment.<sup>219</sup>

Turkish women needed directions in losing weight. Even their body shapes and sizes were constructed by the movie fan magazines. Again, a letter (response) written to *Yıldız* showed Turkish women's concerns about images of female bodies. The writer of the section informed the female reader K. A. (from Ankara) about the "ideal size" which she should have. Taking into consideration her height, her ideal weight should

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<sup>218</sup> M. Aysel, "Bir Masaj Mucizesi," *Yıldız*, December 1, 1938.

<sup>219</sup> "Dert Ortağı," *Yıldız*, December 15, 1938, vol.1 no.4.

be not more than 116 pounds according to the writer. "Your neck should be 12.6 inches, your breasts should be 31.5 inches, and your belly should be 25.6 inches whereas your hips should be 19.3 inches. The size of your ankle should be reduced to 7.9 inches."<sup>220</sup> The writer responded that she was not a slim figure, and she could should lose weight by low fat diets which excluded pastry, rice, pasta. The writer suspected that she did not walk enough, and directed her to "go for a walk in Çankaya streets everyday," and even recommended her to walk in Ankara Castle for keeping fit. In six months, she would notice the change, according to the writer.<sup>221</sup>

These fan magazines were not aware that they created ideal standards for readers by modeling stars constantly and created anxiety in readers about their physical appearances at the same time. In *Holivut*, the writer, after informing readers about sports tips through stars, was also concerned about the letters of readers. "Although we write a lot of articles about stars advice about this issue, we receive so many letters from readers about questions concerning how they can lose weight." The writer could not believe that they still got those kind of letters with having to with weight issues, and wanted to find out the reason.

Finally, we got to the bottom of this issue. What we recommend the most to our readers is what stars advise. This means that only stars can practice and get the results (achieve) in their lives. It is also better to consider the fact that stars earn a lot of money. At this point, we should suggest something which will not be expensive for our readers. In addition to this, this suggestion should also make readers achieve the same results of what stars did.<sup>222</sup>

The magazine wanted to come up with solutions for readers. Jumping ropes while wearing swimming suits made of wool was suggested by *Holivut* for their readers.

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<sup>220</sup> "Dert Ortağı," *Yıldız*, January 15, 1939 vol.1 no.6.

<sup>221</sup> "Dert Ortağı," *Yıldız*, January 15, 1939 vol.1 no.6.

<sup>222</sup> "Güzellik ve Spor," *Holivut*, August 8, 1934, 12.

They should work out on an empty stomach with taking breaks (these breaks were different every day, the magazine wrote about them in a detailed way.) As "more than 100 letters" was about desiring to learn how to lose weight, this was *Holivut*'s response for all. *Holivut* wanted their readers to write about their thoughts and send to *Holivut* after attempting to lose weight.<sup>223</sup>

There were not many dance schools during Turkey at that time. Many people regarded dance consisted of "meaningless footsteps and body movements."<sup>224</sup> As it was mentioned in the second chapter, Atatürk encouraged people to dance in the public although there were problems with accepting. Dance was also promoted by *Holivut* and *Yıldız*. There were articles about how to dance accompanied by pictures of stars. *Holivut* and *Yıldız* encouraged women to learn how to dance, sometimes gave examples from movies and tried to teach their techniques.

"*Champagne Waltz*" was introduced to readers as containing examples of ballroom dancing. It was an American movie (1937) starring Fred MacMurray and Gladys Swarthout. Frank Veloz and Yolanda Casazza played in the movie. They were famous ballroom dance couples. *Holivut* provided dance photos of Fred MacMurray, Gladys Swarthout and Frank Veloz, Yolanda Casazza. Nine photographs of Veloz and Casazza's photographs were presented as "Champagne Waltz" dance figures. Pictures of foot steps were included. In the article, Kentmen commented that it was the United States that offered everything new, and this dance was one of them. Kentmen wanted readers to practice this dance at their homes.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> "Güzellik ve Spor," *Holivut*, August 8, 1934, 12-13.

<sup>224</sup> "Güzel Dansetmek," *Yıldız*, January 1, 1939, 42.

<sup>225</sup> "Şampanya Valsi," *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, March 4, 1937, 12-14.

In 1932, *Holivut* introduced "Congorilla dance" to readers as a "new dance" which was originated in America like rumba. Fifteen different figures were presented, and readers could follow the instructions and learn the Congorilla dance through these images according to the writer.<sup>226</sup> There was an American documentary entitled *Congorilla* which screened in 1932. Probably dance figures were imported from that film.

The fact that Hollywood was capable of constructing "a Claudette Colbert type, a Carole Lombard type, or a Norma Shearer type," led women to emulate these types.<sup>227</sup> In Turkey, through stars, the fan magazines *Yıldız*, *Holivut* offered their character analysis for readers. It dictated what type of personality readers have through their favourite actors. "Is Norma Shearer your favourite actor? Then you are..." was the typical beginning of these comments. If the reader's favourite actress was Norma Shearer, the magazine offered that the reader had a romantic nature, and was a "delicate person who liked music and poetry." Readers, who liked Norma Shearer the most, were portrayed to be dreamy and introverted, preoccupied with their own thoughts. In addition to this, they had a huge heart for love.<sup>228</sup> People who preferred Robert Taylor, got nervous easily.<sup>229</sup> Joan Crawford types were slender and liked books.<sup>230</sup> "If your favourite actor is John Boles, you are..." "brave," loyal, serious in mind and intention and have a strong nature. According to the magazine, people who liked him were talented in researching, painting. The magazine claimed that women,

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<sup>226</sup> "Congorilla: Yeni Dans," *Holivut*, September 1, 1932, 18.

<sup>227</sup> Tina Balio, *Grand Design: Hollywood as a Modern Business Enterprise* (California: University of California Press, 1995), 2.

<sup>228</sup> "Norma Shearer En Çok Beğendiğimiz Artist midir? Öyleyse Siz:" *Yıldız*, November 15, 1938. (page number was absent.)

<sup>229</sup> "Robert Taylor En Çok Beğendiğimiz Artist midir? Öyleyse Siz:" *Yıldız*, November 1, 1938.

<sup>230</sup> "Joan Crawford En Çok Beğendiğimiz Artist midir? Öyleyse Siz:" *Yıldız*, January 1, 1939.

who liked John Boles most, could be successful as female actresses or dancers. In their love relationships they could be successful, too.<sup>231</sup>

Young Turkish women interested in sports followed the Joan Crawford type while a little plump ones imitated Mae West. Even Shirley Temple became a role model for children. Beauty started to be defined, classified in terms of looking like a cinema star. Phrases like "She looks like Marlen [Dietrich], she is a Garbo type..." became popular in Turkey.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> "John Boles En Çok Beğendiğiniz Artist midir? Öyleyse Siz:" *Yıldız*, December 1, 1938. (page numbers were not clear in first issues. vol.1 issue.3)

<sup>232</sup> Cihat Kentmen, "Sinema ve Aşk," *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, December 10, 1936, 25.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

In *Cumhuriyet*, in the article, "Why are Women Romantic?" the writer, upon hearing two young people's conversation about novels' influence on women in Turkey, opposing them, revealed in these words how the cinema which penetrated into women's lives:

I think, women of today are cinema heroes rather than novel heroes. Cinema stars who are dolly like and cocotte keep women busy (occupy) substantially. Women presume the life from scenes they watched from the screens, actor's live portrayed there direct their lives like a compass. Romantic loves, cocotte and beautiful women, flirtatious girl who jumps from one love to another, extra-familial adventures...these are what life is about for them.<sup>233</sup>

The 1930s witnessed a great change in modern art: silent films left their place to talkies. Hollywood not only entered the lives of American people but also reached over continents and brought its visual culture to the masses. Turkey, the new Republic after the demolition of the Ottoman State was one of the countries that American visual culture found an audience not only with the World War II but also in the 1930s in Turkey.

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<sup>233</sup> Cici Anne, "Kadınlar Niçin Romantiktir?" *Cumhuriyet*, December 7, 1930, 2.

American cinema and Turkish movie fan magazines found a space in women's lives and injected American codes into Turkish culture, and offered an alternative to be a new role model for the Turkish women who celebrated Atatürk's reforms.

In the 1930s, cinema was popular in Turkey, especially in bigger cities. As American films dominated the Turkish screens, American female and male cinema stars also became popular among young women. There was a growing interest for actresses and actors. Young women collected their pictures, even kissed the portraits. Their photographs became iconic images; they worshipped cinema stars' bodies, their manners, personalities. Hollywood was everywhere; in "the way they talk, the way they love, their mentality." Working as an actress was a foreign concept for Turkish women, but during the 1930s, young women wanted to learn more about how to be an actress. Increasing women's interest in cinema was also related to Hollywood. They started to dream America. The movie fan magazines served as a guide in directing readers how to make their dreams come true.

Advertisements also used cinema stars, and encouraged consumerism. Turkish brands using American female stars in their advertisements targeted female consumers. Advertisements promoted the idea that women could be as beautiful as cinema stars if women used their products. English words like "girl" was used in Holivut magazine as "görl." Frayman could be a name of the store. Sex-appeal was converted to "seksapel." English words penetrated into Turkish language, at the same time.

More people wanted to learn more about America due to Hollywood's new representations. New concepts of modern life were also associated with America. New



advertising tactic was labeled as American. American movies, lives of cinema stars raised the issue "Hollywoodization" in Turkey. There was ambivalence toward the term. By some, American films were interpreted as religious, propangandist, leading to moral decay, spoiling young women's minds, and a threat to "the concept of family," while some people interpreted American movies as a representation of "a new way of life," as well as being educative.

There was already "new way of life" discourse in the 1930s with the Atatürk's reforms. Atatürk aimed for Westernization in every section of life. The social change was in the air. Old traditions were criticized especially by young people. Atatürk believed that they would be more or less replaced with western ideals, but traces of old mentality revealed itself in tensions due to the new adaptations. For example, young women's dancing could be interpreted as decay of morals by conservatives.

The State feminism marked the era, and Atatürk's reforms liberated Turkish women in many areas. Kemalist ideology reframed "the ideal women" as mothers, virtuous, keeping their chastity, having careers, being active in clubs. Marriage and motherhood were promoted. "For a strong nation," mothers would raise the strong generation of future, they had an important role in the progress of the "civilized nation." The state's success was indirectly proportional to that. Patriarchy was not totally challenged. "The father" was accepted as the head of the family. "Single woman" image was not promoted by the ideology. The reforms were directed towards women to gaining education and pursuing careers but also expected them to be "a good wife and a good mother." Good postures, sports, dance were encouraged by the state. Sports and having good morals were closely linked.

Through American female stars, the movie fan magazines promoted not only beauty culture, sports, fashion but also "career women" which was portrayed to be strong, independent, self-assured. "Being a good mother and a good wife" was absent from this cinema discourse. Whether American female stars had children or how they raised their children were not generally represented. This lack of motherhood concept is crucial. While the Atatürk's reform encouraged women to have careers and be both good mothers and wives, the movie fan magazines constructed women as more individualistic, strong, single women who followed their career.

The founder of the Republic, Atatürk's one of the most famous phrase was "I like a sports person being smart, fit and at the same time, having moral values." There was an association of sports with having good morals. What the movie fan magazines offered did not suggest anything having to do with good morals or being ethical. They advised sports for losing weight and presented it as a leisure, and mostly as a medium to have a good shape.

It was also the movie fan magazines *Holivut*, *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, and *Yıldız*, which made the star image more powerful in the minds of the spectator. Beauty became synonymous with American stars. Ideal women's body was composed of American female stars. These movie fan magazines promoted the idea that one could be beautiful if she put an effort into it. It was these magazines that presented beauty as a concept that could be achieved. Not only physical appearances but also in personality traits, the movie fan magazines constructed personality types through cinema stars. In addition to these, how women should act in their relationships with men was also dictated by these movie fan magazines through cinema stars.

The movie fan magazines intervened in the daily lives of women's by directing readers on what to eat, what to use for makeup, how to do hair, what to wear, which exercises they should do, how to act in their love relationships, etc. They constructed and disseminated norms in terms of behaviors, in terms of personalities, love relationships. There was the production of new identity through these fan movie magazines, which body and beauty culture were given highly importance. Hollywood (Holivut) was more than what the word suggested. It was like an "imagined community" which created the norms and produced the ideal in this context. At the same time, it also produced images on how people should not look, should not behave, how their personality should not be. Cinema discourse was effective in making those representations ordinary. The movie fan magazines dictated ideal body sizes giving examples from female cinema stars constantly. This created anxiety among female readers about their own physical appearances. They wanted to fit in "ideal standards" portrayed by stars. Response letters in the movie fan magazines showed that losing weight became an important issue due to modeling American stars constantly as the ideal one.

In the 1930s, in the shortage of Turkish movies, what people watched and read about cinema was mostly American movies, American cinema stars. They read their stories, ambitions, their perception of life, recommendations from the movie fan magazines. It was not surprising that a French writer commented on Turkish women as "westernized and Americanized" in 1934.<sup>234</sup> Through this American cinema channel, there was the construction and dissemination of norms for Turkish women in beauty, body shape, size, manners, personality traits, etc. Taking into consideration of

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<sup>234</sup> "Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Bir Ukalaya Cevap," *Cumhuriyet*, November 22, 1934, 3.

all these factors, Turkish popular culture was already Americanized through American movies, and the Turkish movie fan magazines; *Holivut*, *Holivut İstanbul Magazin*, *Yıldız* even before the Marshall plan.

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